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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XL Nos. 21 & 22.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1901.



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THE ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

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THE IMPERIAL  
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*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

**JANUARY, 1901.**

RENEWED CONSIDERATION  
OF AGRICULTURAL BANKS FOR INDIA.

WHEN WILL SOMETHING PRACTICAL BE DONE?

BY SIR W. WEDDERBURN, BART.

IN the recent debate at Simla on the Panjab Alienation of Land Bill, Sir Edward Law, on behalf of the Government of India, announced that a Conference will shortly be held in Calcutta to consider the question of agricultural banks as a remedy for excessive rural indebtedness in India. He stated that the Conference will consist "of a few people who are specially qualified to speak on the subject, and to look at it with regard to Indian conditions"; and he expressed a hope that they will be able to propose measures which will benefit peasant proprietors throughout India. I welcome this intimation as far as it goes; but trust that something will be done beyond mere consideration of the subject. This subject has been spoken on, and written on, and looked at, from every point of view for the last twenty-five years. In the meantime the unhappy rayat lies crushed and paralyzed by his load of debt; while two terrible famines have passed over India, finding in him a ready victim. When will something practical be done?

Sir E. Law did not in any way indicate the lines upon which Government propose to proceed. But it may be presumed that they will in the main be guided by two important documents, in which official experience has been



embodied after very exhaustive inquiry. I mean (1) the Despatch of May 31, 1884, from the Viceroy in Council to the Secretary of State for India, in which the establishment of a pioneer bank was proposed ; and (2) the reports of Mr. Nicholson, of the Madras Civil Service, who in 1892 was placed on special duty for the purpose of inquiring into the possibility of introducing a system of agricultural or other land banks. Let us ascertain from these documents what conclusions have already been arrived at, and what foundations now exist upon which the approaching Conference may build.

I will take first Mr. Nicholson's reports (of 1895 and 1896), as being the latest official pronouncement on the subject ; and I find that, as the keynote of his recommendations, he has chosen the motto "*Solvitur ambulando*" :— practical experiments must be made in the different provinces ; no general scheme is possible in India ; and legislation must be directed to fostering and developing the special methods found locally suitable. He complains that "correspondents and others appear to expect some all-embracing scheme by which banks would be made to spring up throughout the land." But he declares that this is precisely what is impossible ; that no such thing has ever succeeded in Europe or elsewhere ; that hundreds of cut-and-dry schemes have from time to time been proposed ; but that since the days of Frederick the Great, not one has ever succeeded. I trust therefore that the approaching Calcutta Conference will take warning, and not entangle itself in any cut-and-dry schemes of an all-embracing kind ; nor countenance any further general inquiry for the discovery of such. What is wanted is to stop academic discussion, and to begin practical work at once, directed to actual needs. Mr. Nicholson has rightly stated that the rayat's "first desire and his first need are to get rid of debt, and to keep out of debt, to borrow cheaply for current needs, and to repay conveniently" ; and he urges that local experiments should be initiated in



order to ascertain, by actual experience, how these simple requirements may best be met. As an example of such experiments he refers to the Madras "Nidhis," or Local Loan Funds, regarding which he says that "had a favourable law and due supervision been in existence during the last twenty years, these Nidhis would have attained a tenfold development." According to Mr. Nicholson the duty of Government is to give sympathetic and effective support to such efforts; but the initiative should come from the people themselves and their local leaders. Unfortunately an all-absorbing bureaucracy does not produce an atmosphere favourable to private enterprise. Nevertheless Mr. Nicholson's chief hope lies in the work of reformers and enthusiasts among the Indians themselves, men of the type of Raiffeisen in Germany and Luzzatti in Italy, "who believe in banks, and in the reform of rural credit, who are seriously interested in the economic and moral advancement of the rayats, who dwell amongst them and are of the people . . . and yet by their intelligence, prescience, and energy, are above the people." And he concludes by saying that the whole of his report might be summed up in the two words, "Find Raiffeisen!"

The practical recommendations of Mr. Nicholson amount therefore to this: In each province find pioneers for the work among Indians of experience and public spirit; get them to establish experimental banks suited to the local needs of the cultivators; and give to these pioneer enterprises all reasonable State support, whether legislative, administrative, or financial. Let us now turn to the Government of India Despatch of May, 1884, already referred to, and see how far these recommendations were then forestalled, and acted upon. We shall find that the course indicated was followed, almost to the letter, by the Viceroy in Council of that day; and although, on account of difficulties raised in London by the India Office, the project was not carried out, it still holds the field as the most complete expression by the Government of India of its views regarding agricultural banks.

#### 4 *Renewed Consideration of Agricultural Banks for India.*

The proposal contained in this Despatch was that a pioneer bank should be established by private enterprise in the Bombay Dekkhan, the locality selected being the Purandhar Taluka of the Poona Collectorate. The conditions were well chosen for an instructive experiment. For the Dekkhan rayat stands out prominently as a type of the peasantry throughout India, both in his characteristics and his misfortunes. Sturdy, frugal, and industrious, he has had many difficulties to contend with, including those of a rugged country and an uncertain rainfall. During the American cotton famine he enjoyed a brief gleam of prosperity; but after that things went from bad to worse, and he became hopelessly indebted to the village money-lender. In 1875-76 the oppressions arising out of this indebtedness led to despairing agrarian outbreaks, which had to be repressed by military force; and in 1879 a Relief Act was passed, intended to disarm his creditors; but nevertheless the recent famines found him in a ruined condition, which has resulted in infinite suffering and loss of life. His case is therefore full of warning and example; and important light will be thrown on the question before us if we consider briefly how in the Dekkhan rural credit became disorganized, and what was the nature of the remedial measures proposed in 1884 by the Government of India.

Originally the relations between the rayat and village money-lender were friendly, and beneficial to all parties; for the custom was that the rayat owned the land and the cattle, and supplied the labour by himself and his family; while the money-lender maintained the whole party until the harvest became available, and provided cash to pay the Government assessment and all incidental expenses. The crop thus obtained was shared between the two at harvest-time, one share going to the rayat as the reward of his labour, and one share to the money-lender as the profit on his capital. Unfortunately this easy-going partnership was put an end to when, in accordance with English models, debt-courts were established in the rural districts; the stringency and costliness of the procedure followed in these

courts being quite unsuited to the customary conditions of Indian village life. By setting up this debt-collecting machinery a new and very sharp weapon was placed in the hands of the creditor. The high rates of interest, 12, 24, and 36 per cent., which were before to a great extent nominal, became now a stern reality; and the creditor, armed with a decree of the court, and attended by its bailiffs, became master of the situation, and was able to sell the rayat's land and house, and even consign him to a debtor's gaol. The process of the court became thus a sort of legalized torture, by means of which all that the rayat had was squeezed out of him, and he became the mere bond-slave of his creditor. The result was a bitter antagonism between the two classes, ending in a financial deadlock. On the one hand the rayat, sunk hopelessly in debt, lost all energy and enterprise; living from hand to mouth, a ready prey to famine; while on the other hand the business of the money-lender was paralyzed; he was afraid to make new advances, and unable to recover either the interest or the capital of his old loans.

This total disorganization of rural credit, and consequent ruin throughout the Bombay Dekkhan, appealed for remedy alike to the philanthropist and the man of business; and accordingly in Poona, a centre of great intellectual activity, a movement was initiated in order to terminate the disastrous financial deadlock. If a single Raiffeisen was not found, the spirit which animated that benevolent reformer was not wanting in the local community; and an influential committee was formed, comprising the leading landholders, bankers, and pensioned Government officers, having for their object to frame a suitable scheme for the establishment of an agricultural bank. The task was not an easy one. They had to provide for the settlement of the old debts, to restore the friendly relations between the rayats and the village money-lenders, to secure for the scheme the hearty co-operation of both these classes, and to persuade the local capitalists to give it their financial support.

Lastly they had to claim from Government the concessions necessary for practical success. The scheme took shape at the close of 1882. Careful inquiries had been instituted, and many local meetings held, in order to learn the wishes of all parties concerned, and to explain the nature of the project. At last all was ready. The rayats gladly welcomed the proposal; the village money-lenders agreed to co-operate; and the native bankers were ready to provide capital. A public meeting was then held at Poona, with the Collector of the district in the chair, and resolutions were unanimously passed for the establishment of an agricultural bank. The committee, representing the promoters, next waited on H.E. the Governor of Bombay (Sir James Fergusson), who received the deputation in a very cordial way, expressed himself personally favourable to the scheme, and promised that he and his colleagues would give it their best consideration.

It was under these happy auspices that the whole matter was brought before the Government of India. The Marquis of Ripon was then Viceroy, and Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer) was Finance Minister. The scheme received immediate and sympathetic attention, and a very important despatch was sent from Simla to the Bombay Government, expressing the satisfaction of the Viceroy in Council with the proposals made, and setting forth in detail the action which the Government were prepared to take. Subject to certain minor conditions, the Government accepted the Poona proposals. They were willing to appoint a Commission for the liquidation of the rayats' debts within a limited experimental area; they would advance in the first instance the cash (some 6½ lakhs) necessary for the composition of the debts; they would, as regards the bank, remit a part of the stamp duty on documents, and the court fees in suits; and they would concede to the bank the privilege of recovering its advances through the revenue officers as arrears of revenue. While granting these important concessions, the Government of India were careful



to explain that similar privileges would not necessarily be granted to other similar banks. The Poona bank was, in fact, treated as a pioneer enterprise; the object being to make a practical experiment in a limited area, with the hope that if the system was successful it would, with the necessary modifications, spread wherever needed and, to use the words of the despatch, "prove of incalculable benefit to the whole country." In conclusion the Government of India stated that they attached very great importance to the experiment, and asked the Bombay Government to undertake the working of the measure. In reply the Bombay Government stated their willingness to give the scheme a trial. In this way, after no little labour and negotiation, every interest and every authority in India had been brought into substantial agreement as to the merits of the scheme. And the memorable despatch of May 31, 1884, signed by the Viceroy and his colleagues, was forwarded to England, setting forth fully the circumstances of the case, and asking the sanction of the Secretary of State to the proposed experiment. "We are anxious," they said, "to give effect to a scheme which we believe to be advocated on purely disinterested grounds, which can, under the experimental conditions proposed, be carefully watched, and which is likely, if successful, to be productive of much benefit to the country."

I will not now dwell on the unfortunate causes which delayed, and finally frustrated, this carefully matured scheme. But I repeat that, so far as the expressed views of the Government of India on the subject of agricultural banks are concerned, the project set forth in this despatch still holds the field. And moreover it bears the *imprimatur* of Lord Cromer, a practical Indian financier of the highest authority, who was willing to advance no less a sum than 6½ lakhs in order to insure the success of the experiment. In any revived discussion of the subject, therefore, this despatch must form the foundation upon which further conclusions are built; the more so because the method then

approved is in complete harmony with the recommendations of Mr. Nicholson, whose hopes of success depend entirely upon practical experiments, conducted in limited areas, by experienced and public-spirited persons thoroughly acquainted with local needs. That this was Mr. Nicholson's final conclusion is shown by the words with which he closes his second report of July 28, 1896: "The writer's motto for the initiation of village banks continues to be 'Solvitur ambulando'; great measures are always impossible till they are found to be successful, and success depends upon incessant experiment, perseverance, and courage; the problem is insoluble till it is attacked in actual experiment."

It is no exaggeration to say that the excessive and paralyzing rural indebtedness which exists in India is a question of life and death to the peasantry. Drought and failure of harvest would not result in wholesale death by starvation if the rayat had a domestic store either of food, or of money, or of credit, sufficient to tide over one failure of crop. At present he possesses none of these. He possesses nothing, and much less than nothing, as he owes more than he can ever hope to pay. Consequently when there is a failure of harvest he must die of hunger, unless fed by the State. Under these circumstances it is truly astonishing that those responsible for the welfare of India should (in spite of constant warnings) have delayed all these long years in applying, or even attempting to apply, the acknowledged remedy for peasant indebtedness. Even Turkey has its land banks. And how does the Indian Government, which claims high merit for benevolence and efficiency, compare with Germany, which, according to Mr. H. Woolff, possesses some 11,000 of such credit institutions? Surely a heavy responsibility rests on the authorities who have failed to combat this rural debt and destitution by the methods which have proved effective in every civilized country in the world. In India the Government reserves to itself all the power, and can therefore repudiate none of the responsibility.

## SOME HISTORICAL INDIAN FAMINES.

BY CAPTAIN WOLSELEY HAIG, I.S.C.,

Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts.

THE recent famine in India has suggested this brief study of the history of famines in a land peculiarly liable to visitations of this nature. Any interest attaching to such an account will be purely historical, for we have no practical lessons to learn from the famine policy of Oriental monarchs of the Middle Ages. I have therefore refrained from comparisons except within the limits of the period of which I have treated. That period comprises, roughly, what is called the Muhammadan period of Indian history, the time, that is, when Muhammadan sovereigns were reigning in Hindústán, Málwá, Gujarát, and the Dakan, and covers about 500 years. It is evident that a detailed account of every famine which occurred in India during that time could not be compressed within reasonable limits. I have therefore confined myself to a brief account of the principal famines—of those mentioned in general, as distinct from provincial, histories. The authorities from which I have drawn my information are, with hardly an exception, native historians. These, with all their shortcomings, are the only sources of information which we have for the greater part of the period covered by this sketch. The works to which I am principally indebted are the *Tárikh-i-Férás-Sháhi* of Barní, the *Tabaqát-i-Akbari* by Nizámu-d-dín Ahmad, Firishta's history, the *Muntakhibu-t-Tavárikh* of Badáoni, and the *Pádisháhnáma*, the official chronicle of the reign of Sháhjahán. I mention them here in order to obviate the necessity for frequent references and citations.

The first famine of which we have a detailed account is attributed by Muslim historians to the Divine displeasure at the slaying of a holy man, and occurred either in A.H. 689 (A.D. 1291) or A.H. 690 (A.D. 1292). Historians differ as to the exact date. At this time Jalálu-d-dín Fírúz

Sháh, the founder of the Khiljí Dynasty, had just ascended the throne of Dihlí. Not long before this there had come to the capital a reputed saint named Sidi Maula, whose mode of life could hardly fail to excite suspicion in the mind of a ruler who had but lately ascended the throne as an elected monarch, and who had at the beginning of his reign to contend with organized and widespread disaffection. Sidi Maula, while affecting to lead the life of a devotee, was lavish in his expenditure and almost regal in his hospitality, and had a singular faculty for attracting disciples, not only from among the vulgar and ignorant, but from among the highest in the land. The most important of his disciples were the Emperor's eldest son and the Qázi of Dihlí, who had, of course, great influence in the religious world. Fírúz Sháh's suspicions may have been unjust, but they were certainly not unreasonable. He was well advanced in years, and had just ascended a throne to which, as has been said, he had no hereditary claim. His elevation to that throne had been actively opposed by a considerable party. That he was not by nature cruel is evident from the leniency, almost amounting to weakness, with which he had treated his political enemies after overthrowing them. The question with which he was now confronted was the growth in his own capital of a party not avowedly hostile to his rule, and ostensibly headed by one who seems to have been able to attract both the religious and the worldly, the rich and the poor, and whose principal follower was the heir to the throne. This last fact alone was quite sufficient to render the party an object of suspicion to the reigning Sovereign. It may seem strange that Fírúz Sháh, who had treated dangerous rebels with a leniency uncommon in those days, should have dealt harshly with a professor to whom no overt act of sedition could be imputed. The fact that he did so is evidence, despite the protests of Muhammadan historians, of the dangerous character of the Sidi. The professing saint was put to death with great cruelty, one of the principal actors



in the tragedy being Arkalí Khan, a younger son of the Emperor. His activity in the matter is instructive, for we may infer from it that he either believed, or pretended to believe, that his brother was implicated in a political conspiracy, and that he was desirous of supplanting him as heir-apparent.

Zi'áu-d-dín Barní, though far from being faultless as an historian, is our best authority for this period, for he was an eye-witness of the facts of which we are now treating. He says that he remembers that on the day on which Sidi Maula was slain "a black wind arose, so that the world was darkened." Other historians following him mention this "black wind," which was no doubt a dust-storm of unusual violence. This was followed by a famine. In that year the rains failed, and we are told that "not a drop of rain fell in Dihlí and the Siwálík"—that is to say, in the province of Dihlí and the Himálaya, with its submontane tracts. Notwithstanding the vagueness of the expression, it is certain that a considerable portion of Northern India was affected by this famine. Grain sold in Dihlí at a *jítal* per *ser*, the *jítal* being worth three-eighths of a penny. It is a pity that Barní, who gives us this information, neither specifies the kind of grain to which he refers, nor gives us its normal price at this period. The grain was probably wheat, in which case the rate which the historian quotes in order to show the terrible straits to which the people were reduced would not be abnormally high; but money has, of course, fallen considerably in relative value since that time. Our safest guide, perhaps, is Barní's statement of the enforced rates of prices of provisions decreed by 'Aláu-d-dín Khiljí, the nephew and successor of Fírúz Sháh. The objection to this standard is of course that the rates, being enforced, were abnormally low; but, on the other hand, we must remember that they cannot have been much below the normal market rates, for they were maintained unaltered from the day on which they were introduced to the end of 'Aláu-d-dín's reign, and that without either oppressive

action by the authorities or distress among agriculturists and grain-dealers.\* Wheat, according to this scale, sold at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *jittals*, and barley at 4 *jittals* per *man* of 40 *ser*s—that is to say, “grain” sold at Dihlī during this famine at three-eighths of a penny per *ser*, while wheat could be obtained in the latter part of ‘Alāu-d-dīn’s reign for about one-fourteenth of a penny, and barley for about one-twenty-third of a penny per *ser*.

This digression regarding the price of food grains during the famine may be pardoned on account of the interest of the subject. Let us now return to the effects of the famine on the people. The distress in Dihlī was already acute when the “Hindus of the Siwālik”—that is to say, the rural population of the Upper Dūāb and submontane tract of Himālaya, trooped into the capital, in the belief, apparently, that if they could obtain relief anywhere, it would be there. Men, women, and children, herded together like cattle, thronged the city and its environs. The Sultan and his Amīrs, generously seconded by the well-to-do public, distributed alms with no niggard hand, but were wholly unable to stem the tide of misery. The starving people destroyed themselves in bands, joining hands and leaping into the Jamna. Not for all of the Muslims even did the stream of charity suffice. Numbers of them succumbed to the effects of hunger and unwholesome food. The famine was succeeded in the following year by rains so heavy that “few could remember the like.”†

We now come to the reign of Sultan ‘Alāu-d-dīn Khiljī, the author of the enforced rates of provisions which have

\* Mr. Thomas, in his “Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dihlī,” (ed. 1871, p. 159), says of these rates: “. . . In effect the official rates for the metropolis do not depart greatly from what might be styled the normal scale of prices when distributed over an average of town municipalities; and this *quasi* equity is indeed supported by the natural open market rates obtaining at a later period, when money may have been supposed to have fallen in relative value.”

† Barni, “Calcutta Text,” p. 212.

been already mentioned. Barní tells us that though the rains sometimes failed in the days of this Sovereign to such an extent that famines might have been expected prices never varied; but though he records his surprise at this wonderful stability in prices, he neglects to mention in connection with it the fact which makes it particularly surprising. This Sultan, on his return from the Dakan, had brought back with him such enormous quantities of gold, and had disbursed it with so lavish a hand, that a considerable decrease in the relative value of money and a corresponding rise in the actual prices of provisions might have been expected, even had the harvests in the latter part of his reign been uniformly plentiful. It may be that the scale of rates arbitrarily fixed by the Sultan was intended to counteract any tendency towards depreciation of the currency, and to maintain the relative value of money unimpaired. But if there were any such tendency to be counteracted it is strange that the Sultan was able to maintain the stability of prices without resorting to oppressive measures. That he did so there is no doubt. Barní was not in this case writing from hearsay or copying from ancient chronicles; he is dealing with facts which fell within his own experience. He gives a detailed account of the regulations formed by the Sultan to insure the stability of prices, but a discussion of these regulations and of their ability to attain the object, which whether because of them or in spite of them was attained, would be tedious. It is as well to mention here that Barní is above all suspicion of flattery. He condemns 'Aláu-d-dín Khiljī in no measured terms in other passages, and nowhere is he blind to his faults.

We come next to a series of famines which, terrible as they were, formed only a part of the calamities which fell upon the peoples of India during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the second Emperor of the Tughlaq Dynasty, who succeeded his father, Ghiyásu-d-dín Tughlaq, on the throne of Diblī in A.H. 725 (A.D. 1324), and reigned for twenty-seven years till A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

To say that this Prince was one of the most extraordinary rulers who ever sat on the throne of Dihlí would be to state less than the truth. The world's history furnishes us with few, if any, examples of a ruler in whom that which was bad so completely neutralized that which was good. He succeeded to a vast Empire. He left a few disjointed provinces surrounded by powerful independent kingdoms. By no means devoid of generous impulses, superior to the gross sensual indulgence, bred of unlimited opportunity, which is the besetting sin of Oriental potentates, an able and vigorous general, and devoted to public affairs, he was, nevertheless, a veritable scourge of God to the unhappy countries under his autocratic rule. Harsh and cruel, with inordinate ideas of the inviolability of the slightest expression of his will, a fierce enthusiast, eccentric to the verge of insanity, continually employed in hatching wild plans, the bantlings of a fevered brain, it would be hard to imagine a ruler less fitted to guide the peoples of India through the calamities which fell upon them during his reign.

One of his acts was to increase the assessment of the land in the Gangetic Dúáb. For this measure he seems to have had more than one motive. His military expenditure was enormous, and his wild designs necessitated an almost unlimited increase in that expenditure. Moreover, the people of the Dúáb were, or were believed by the Sultan to be, disaffected, and the increase in the assessment was ordained partly as a punishment for their disaffection. Of the extent of this increase we have various accounts. The most moderate, that of Firishta, says that the assessment was increased "threefold and fourfold." Nizámu-d-dín Ahmad says "tenfold," and Ziáu-d-dín Barní "tenfold and twentyfold." This last statement, at least, seems to be an exaggeration; but it must not be too readily dismissed as absurd, for Barní, with all his faults, is our best authority for the period in which he lived, and Muhammad bin Tughlaq was not likely to deem any punishment that could



be devised too severe for the discontented and disaffected. That the enhancement was out of all proportion to the value of the land is evident from its results. The land was not worth cultivating under the new conditions. Robbery and rebellion not only promised to be more profitable occupations than the raising of crops, which at best would not suffice to meet the demands of the revenue collector, but had the additional advantage of satisfying the burning sense of injustice which was the immediate result of the Emperor's severity.

The Dúáb was in a state of ferment, and the disaffection spread very soon to other parts of India, for none could be sure that the enhancement of the land revenue would be confined to a single province. To add to the general confusion, unrest, and distress, the rains failed, and for two or three years the capital (Dihlí) was grievously stricken with famine.

The Sultan's next extravagance was the transfer of his capital from Dihlí to Deogír in the Dakan, which had been renamed Daulatabad. The reasons for this measure seem to have been : (1) the necessity for punishing the contumacy of the inhabitants of the Dúáb, banishment being apparently considered the fittest penalty ; and (2) the more central situation of Daulatabad in an Empire which included the Dakan as well as Hindustan. The distance between the two cities was about 650 miles as the crow flies, but, as will be seen hereafter in another case, mere physical obstacles were of very little account in the sight of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. An edict was issued directing the migration of the population of the capital, young and old, male and female, from Dihlí to Daulatabad. This edict was most rigorously enforced, and the people of Dihli and the surrounding country were literally hunted from their homes and driven to the distant city in the South. It is but fair to the Sultan to say that he endeavoured to mitigate the horrors of their journey. Money was distributed to the homeless wanderers, and an attempt

was made to provide shelter for them on their way. But these measures must have been very limited in their effects, and it is certain that many, and probably most, of the exiles gained very little benefit from them. Against such humane precautions we have to set the brutality with which the edict was enforced. Ibn Batútah, a good authority on this subject, gives the following account of some of the atrocities perpetrated: "The Sultan," he says, "ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place, and upon some delay being evinced, he made a proclamation, stating that what person soever, being an inhabitant of that city, should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment. Upon this they all went out. But his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden man in another, the Emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a *balista*, and the blind man to be dragged by his feet to Daulatabad, which is at the distance of ten days' journey,\* and he was so dragged, but, his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it, for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Dihlí it was almost a desert."

Muhammad bin Tughlaq's next freak was his famous attempt to establish a fictitious currency. He had probably heard of the paper currency of Kublai Khan in China, and of the fictitious money of Kai Khatu, the ruler of Persia. There were issued from the mints brass or copper tokens, which were by the Sultan's decree to pass current for the silver *tanka* of 140 grains. This fiscal measure is carefully and ably described and discussed in Mr. Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dihlí" (ed. 1871, pp. 239-247), where the Emperor's policy is as far as possible excused. It is argued that his vast power and the great wealth of his dominions justified, or almost justified, the measure, and that its failure was due to unforeseen

\* Here Ibn Batútah seems to be writing from hearsay. The distance is, as has been said, 650 miles, which would be a very long ten days' journey.

causes. On this point there is room for more than one opinion, leaving aside the fact that the unforeseen causes should and might have been foreseen and obviated. What principally caused the complete failure of this currency was the counterfeiting of the tokens. As Mr. Thomas (*loc. cit.*) says: "There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the Royal mint and the handiwork of the moderately-skilled artisan. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper tokens, and no limit to the power of production of the masses at large." The justice of these remarks will be appreciated by those who have any knowledge of the native copper coinage of India, either as it was formerly or in the shape of those small lumps of copper, familiarly known as *dubs*, which are current in some native States to this day. The enormous extent to which this counterfeiting was actually carried is described in graphic terms by all native writers who deal with this period of history. The secondary cause of the failure of the measure was probably the natural refusal of foreign traders to accept copper as the equivalent of silver in their receipts, and their equally natural readiness to use it as such in disbursements.

The Sultan, when the failure of his policy became apparent, acted with commendable straightforwardness and candour. He practically admitted his error by proclaiming that silver would be issued from the treasuries on exchange for copper tokens to all applicants. Whether he understood the full extent of the loss which the State would suffer as a consequence of this complete surrender is, and must of necessity be, uncertain; but it is probable that he did not. The extent of that loss cannot now be estimated, but it might almost be said that the State distributed silver *gratis*, for the amount of copper that poured in was so enormous that no use could be found for it. Mountains of copper coin arose at the treasuries. These useless heaps of the baser metal lay *in situ* for years. The remains of

them were still to be seen a century later, in the reign of Mu'izzu-d-dín Mubárah Sháh. As Badáoní says: "After all, copper was copper and silver was silver."

The purpose of this digression is to show how the resources of the Empire—the husbanding of which was during this reign an imperative necessity—were wasted on chimerical designs. For the same reason another of the Sultan's insane acts calls for notice. In A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337-38) he resolved to conquer China. In order to carry out this design, he assembled an army of 80,000 or 100,000 cavalry. Historians differ as to its numbers. This army was sent to invade the Chinese Empire by way of the Himálaya. The results of an attempt to invade Tibet from India by an army of this strength and composition may be imagined. The imperial cavalry found themselves opposed at all points by small bodies of mountaineers in impregnable positions. They were entrapped in defiles, checked in front, attacked in rear, harassed, cut off, and destroyed in detail. They would have been fortunate had the hill-men been their only adversaries. Cold, hunger, and exposure must have been more formidable enemies than the mountaineers, and the dangerous paths and sheer precipices of the Himálaya probably claimed many a victim. It would not have been surprising to learn that none returned. It is not hard to believe Badáoní's statement that only ten men came back to Dihlí. These ten men were executed by the Sultan's orders—a truly Oriental proceeding. The distress and misery caused by this disastrous expedition were widely felt, and many homes must have been desolate. The loss to the State was enormous. The strength of the army was at once diminished by 100,000 horsemen in round numbers, and the loss in treasure must have been correspondingly great.

Misfortune followed misfortune. The year A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338-39) saw Bengal in revolt. In A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340-41) the Sultan entered the Province, and punished some of the rebels; but, in this same year, 'Alí



Mubárák established his independence, and was proclaimed Sultan of Bengal, under the title of 'Aláu-d-dín, 'Alí Sháh.

In A.H. 742 (A.D. 1341-42) Hasan Kangú, who afterwards established his independence in the Dakan, and founded the Bahmaní dynasty, raised the standard of rebellion in Ma'bar. The Emperor marched against him, but fell sick on the way, and was obliged to return to Dihlí.

In A.H. 743 (A.D. 1342-43) disaffection in Northern India culminated in rebellion at Láhor. The rebellion was quelled, but was followed by a calamity far more appalling, for about this time occurred the most terrible famine in the history of India. In what year it actually commenced is uncertain. The date is not given by Barní, Nizámuddín Ahmad, or Firishta. Badáoni, generally particular in chronological matters, does not mention the occurrence which might have fixed the date—that is to say, the rebellion of Sháhú the Afghán in Multán. This rebellion is described by the three historians first mentioned, but they assign no date to it. Barní, whom Badáoni usually follows, cared little for chronology; and it would seem that Badáoni neglected to record the rebellion, because his materials did not enable him to assign to it its proper place in the sequence of events. There can be little doubt, however, that the rebellion took place either in A.H. 743 or A.H. 744 (A.D. 1342-44). When it commenced, Dihlí was already sorely stricken with famine. The Sultan set out to quell the rising, but he had not proceeded many marches from the city when he received news of the death of his mother, Makhdúma-yi-Jahán, called by Nizamuddín Ahmad Malika-yi-Jahán. Her death was a public calamity. She had ever exercised a beneficent influence over her son, and, while she had endeared herself to the people by her bounteous charity, her loss was still more felt by those who had been accustomed to rely upon her administrative ability, which had been freely exercised, in the devising of

systematic measures for the relief of the famine-stricken. The Sultan was much affected by the news of her death, but of necessity pushed on to Multán, where the expedition against the rebels was carried to a successful issue. He then returned to Dihli.

This famine was the "seven years' famine" mentioned by Badáoni, who says that at this period not a drop of rain fell for seven years. He hastens to apologize for this outrageous assertion by saying that he merely quotes the author of the "*Tárikh-i Mubárah-Sháhi*." The apology is not out of place, but we need not take the hyperbolical expressions of an Oriental writer literally. It is evident from what is said by Barní, who was living at the time when this calamity fell upon India, that the famine was not the result of the failure of one or two years' rains. It extended over some years, and the palpable exaggeration probably means no more than that the land suffered from the effects of drought and famine, varying in intensity, for a period of seven years—that there was, in fact, a cycle of "seven lean years." The exaggeration, thus explained, lays no heavy tax on our credulity. A phenomenon similar to that mentioned by Badáoni has been recently seen in many parts of India. There has been a cycle of deficient rainfall, in the course of which two famines have occurred. There can be no doubt but that in those parts in which the deficiency in the rainfall has been continuous, famine, or at least scarcity and high prices, would have been continuous had it not been for the means of communication provided by our railways.

I have cited the two most recent famines in India as an analogy to the prolonged famine of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, not as its counterpart. There can be very little comparison between the two. The seven years' famine was far more severe than any famine of which we have had experience, and such measures of relief as were undertaken can hardly be compared with the elaborate administrative machinery of the present day. Yet it must

not be thought that Muhammad bin Tughlaq was oblivious of, or indifferent to, the sufferings of his people. It would rather seem that he accepted the full responsibility for those political freaks which had depleted the resources of the Empire, and that he laboured to repair the damage which he had wrought. Money was disbursed for the purpose of enabling the famine-stricken husbandmen to buy seed, to sink wells, and to improve and extend their holdings. It is not certain whether these grants of money were free gifts or loans, such as are now called *mustá'ida* or *taggávi* loans, but Firishta describes them by the latter word. Whatever the terms were of repayment, one condition was strictly enforced: the money was to be applied to the object for which it was granted, and to no other. In many cases, if not in most, the temptation to expend it in unwonted creature comforts proved too great for the starving recipients. This enraged the Sultan, who was impatient of disobedience. The numerous offenders were executed, until the tale of executions shocked and disgusted the people, accustomed as they were to the atrocities of that bloody reign, and this measure of "relief" was productive of more misery than could have resulted from a policy of inaction.

Another of the Sultan's relief measures was the founding of a town, which he called Sarkdáwarí. This was to be a city of refuge for the homeless and starving, and to this end it was bountifully provisioned with stores of grain sent under his orders by 'Ainu-l-Mulk from the Province of Oudh, "the Garden of India." In this town the Emperor himself lived for a time, superintending the relief of the famine-stricken. The area to which the beneficial effects of this measure extended must have been but small compared with the tracts devastated by the famine, but the measure itself is evidence of the earnest desire of this strange monarch to do what in him lay for his starving subjects.

The Sultan's next step was to establish what we should

now call a Department of Agriculture. The country was divided for the purposes of this department into a number of circles, each of which enjoyed the doubtful blessing of being the special charge of a supervising officer. This attempt to regulate and encourage agriculture in a systematic manner was well meant, but was none the less foredoomed to failure. Muhammad bin Tughlaq, like some modern enthusiasts, believed that it was possible to remedy by legislative enactments all evils which can possibly befall the human race. He had in view an object which, though well defined, was unattainable by any human means, least of all by those which he adopted.

The famine with which we are now dealing was not the result of a merely local failure of the rains. It seems to have affected the whole of India, and probably also a considerable portion of the rest of Southern Asia. The new capital, Daulatábád, was not spared. When famine fell on the city, the Emperor issued edicts encouraging, and in some cases compelling, the people whom he had driven thither to migrate again to North-eastern Hindustan. Some who had taken kindly to the south country remained behind, but many displayed an unwise alacrity in profiting by this permission to return to their old homes. The decree permitting the people to return may perhaps be taken as another instance of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's candour and readiness to confess an error. We have had one such instance already in the calling in of the copper tokens, and this decree seems to be an acknowledgment that the attempt to transfer the capital from Dihli to Daulatábád had been a huge mistake. The murmurs of the exiles probably had some share in influencing the Sultan, and the permission was no doubt intended as an act of grace, but once again malignant Fate converted what was meant to be a blessing into a curse. The homeward way of the exiles lay through Malwa, a Province ordinarily immune from famine. But at this time not even Malwa escaped. With the scene of their exile behind them, the



now desolate wastes of Central India around them, and their former homes, empty and deserted in the midst of a desert land, before them, the exiles' cup of bitterness was full to the brim. The fate of those who succumbed to the hardships and privations of the journey cannot but have been envied by the survivors, who viewed their homes, longed for and perhaps idealized during their exile, now ruined, deserted, and cheerless, and the fields which supported them and their kindred now an arid waste.

There is not much more to learn of the troubles of the land in the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The sun of his reign set in bloodshed and confusion on the ruins of a dismembered Empire. The Dakan and Bengal were lost to the Empire for generations, Gujarát was in revolt, and the Emperor died in the endeavour to save this Province at least. Never within historic times has India, whose woes have been neither few nor slight, been so heavily afflicted as in the reign of this Emperor. Peace was unknown. When the Sultan was not sacrificing armies in the endeavour to realize his dream of universal dominion, he was engaged in quelling rebellions, which, arising in all parts of his dominions at once, were no more than natural—nay, almost necessary—protests against his tyranny, while the rebels were punished with a bloodthirsty ferocity which maddened even those who had no sympathy with their cause. Over and above all this were the famines, now in one part, and now in another, and again affecting the whole vast Empire. Twenty-seven years of suffering under a madman's tyranny, enhanced by calamities which the wisest rule could not have averted, and which exceeded in severity any similar visitations of which we have authentic records in Indian history, must have left the condition of the unfortunate peoples truly pitiable. We read of hosts of helpless and wretched pilgrims wandering destitute, homeless, and defenceless, over a desert land; of timely help eagerly clutched at, and no sooner received than belied, the fierce despot slaughtering without mercy

the starving people who preferred to fill themselves with the seed which they wisely judged to be too good to be wasted on the parched earth; of man in his extremity eating man's flesh, until we marvel at the tenacity of life which enabled any to live through such an accumulation of horrors. What wonder that the historian, referring at once to the merciless severity of the Sultan and to the resistance which it evoked, records his death with the words: "and so the Emperor was freed of his people, and they of their Emperor"!\*

We now pass over a considerable period during which no important famines are recorded. In the reign of Muhammad Sháh, the fifth Bahmani Emperor of the Dakan, who reigned from A.H. 780 (A.D. 1378-79) to A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396-97), the Southern Empire, which included the Dakan and Berar, was devastated by a terrible famine. The visitation seems to have been confined to these tracts, as we find no mention of a synchronous famine in Northern India; indeed, we shall see that famine could not have been severe in the countries bounding the Bahmani Empire on the north. Muhammad Sháh, whose charity is highly praised by Muhammadan historians, is said to have kept 10,000 bullocks constantly journeying between his dominions and Malwa and Gujarát, whence they brought grain, which was sold at normal rates to *Mussulmans*. This cruel and narrow policy probably produced the result aimed at—a crop of conversions to Islam. But we must not fail to note the wisdom of the Sultan in declining to pauperize his people. Many an Oriental Sovereign would have endeavoured to earn a reputation for generosity by a free distribution of grain; and to avoid pauperizing the people, Muhammad Sháh, by selling the grain, not only avoided this evil, but husbanded his resources. Among the works subsequent to the famine for which this Emperor is praised by historians, was the establishment of free schools for orphans in all the principal

\* Badáoni, "Calcutta Text," i. 238.

towns of the Empire, Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandahár, Ellichpúr, Daulatábád, Junír, Chaul, and Dábul. The orphans were legacies of the famine, and it is highly probable that many of them were Hindu children who were brought up as Muslims.

We now return to Northern India. In A.H. 801 (A.D. 1398-99) Hindústán was invaded by Tímúr, known in European romance and history as Tamerlane. The invasion was followed by more than one famine, differing from those of which we now have experience, inasmuch as they are traceable to the ravages of a human scourge rather than to the direct act of God, measures of relief being rendered impossible by the overthrow of the native government, and the substitution of internecine strife and general anarchy for such scanty authority as the ruler of Dihlí had possessed. It is needless to record at length the tale of rapine and bloodshed which caused, or at all events helped to cause, the famine. Sultan Mahmúd Sháh, a great-grandson of that Muhammad bin Tughlaq whose disastrous reign has been noticed, was reigning at Dihlí, if that can be called a reign, in which a *roi fainéant*, such as was Mahmúd, delegated to a *maire du palais* like Mallú, strangely mis-called Iqbál Khán, his very limited authority over the country immediately around Dihlí. The Sultan and his minister were defeated under the very walls of the city, and fled afar, Mahmúd to Gujarát and Mallú to Baran. The citizens purchased their lives at a great price, but afterwards, having rashly assaulted a band of marauding Mughals, were carried away into captivity in Transoxiana, a fate from which they were ultimately spared by means of the intercession of Shaikh Ahmad Khattú. The conqueror, after a sojourn in Dihlí, returned to Láhór not by the way by which he had come, but by way of the Siwálik. With his exploits in that region we are not now concerned. They do not seem to have had any connection with the famine. Láhór was sacked, and Tímúr retreated northwards by way of Kábul. Díbálpúr and Multán were made over to Khizr

Khán, the first of the Sayyid Dynasty of Dihlí, who was informed by the great Amir that the capital was bestowed upon him. The Amir then proceeded to Samarqand, while Khizr Khán went to his *jágr*.

It was at this time that a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihlí. Badáoní tells us that "the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved wing in Dihlí."\* Nizámu-d-dín Ahmad merely tells us that the city was desolate for two months, without specifying the cause of its desolation. Firishta gives us the same information, but adds that the city was smitten with both famine and pestilence (*vabá*). Badáoní's phrase, "those who were left," is expressive. Dihlí must have been, but for its Imperial associations, a barren trophy to the petty chieftains, who were for some time afterwards engaged in the endeavour to establish themselves either in the old capital or in the surrounding country.

Again, we read that in A.H. 811 (A.D. 1408-9) Khizr Khán came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathábád to oppose Sultan Mahmúd, and laid siege to Dihlí, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed. Yet again, in A.H. 814 (A.D. 1411-12) Khizr Khán came to Narnól and Méwát, and ravaged that country, and, blockading Sultan Mahmúd in the fortress of Sirí at Dihlí, and Ikhtiyár Khán in Firúzábád, fought several fierce battles, but was unable to maintain the siege owing to the dearness of grain. He then returned to Fathpúr by way of Pánípat.

This concludes the series of apparently local famines which followed Tímúr's invasion. They are, as has been said, directly traceable to that invasion and to the anarchy which followed it. Tímúr's wholesale massacres of Hindu "infidels" must have thrown large areas out of cultivation, so that the land was unable to support the marauding

\* The absence of bird and insect life is one of the most noticeable of the effects of a severe famine.



armies by which it was overrun for some years after the conqueror's retreat, much less the helpless remnant of its inhabitants.

We now turn again to the Dakan, which had been unaffected by these famines in Northern India. In A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417) Ahmad Sháh Bahmani was ruling over the Southern Empire. In this year the rains failed, rivers and wells dried up, and not only cattle, but wild beasts also, perished in large numbers from hunger and drought. The sufferings of the people were very great. The measures of relief adopted by the Sultan were crude and shortsighted. We are told by Firishta that "the doors of the treasury were opened and the army was fed by the royal bounty." How the masses of the people fared at the Sultan's hands we are not told. The number of those who were indirectly benefited by the overflow of this bounteous distribution of money to the troops must have been inconsiderable. The measure displays even less administrative ability than did Muhammad Bahmani's narrow policy. This year passed, and in the next it seemed that the rains would again fail, and a continuation of the famine was imminent. The Sultan found himself in difficulties. His unwise profusion had so depleted the treasury that the State had no resources wherewith to combat a prolonged famine. Moreover, the people were beginning to murmur. Ahmad Sháh had only just ascended the throne, and was already beginning to be reputed an unlucky Sovereign, a reputation which, in the East, generally insures the speedy downfall of its bearer. He resolved to appeal to Heaven on behalf of his people and himself. He left the city, and, ascending an eminence, remained there for a long time in prayer, while the crowds who thronged the base of the hill awaited anxiously an answer to the Sultan's prayers. At length, we are told, a cloud appeared, copious rain fell, and the famine was averted. Not only was the voice of disaffection silenced, but the Sultan became for a time the idol of his people, and received the cognomen of *Vali* or "Saint."

The next famine to be recorded takes us back again to Northern India. In the year A.H. 827 (A.D. 1424) Mu'izzu-d-dín Mubárák Sháh, the son of that Khizr Khán who has already been mentioned, and the second monarch of the Sayyid Dynasty, sat on the throne of Dihlí. It was in his reign that the famine occurred. There is some doubt as to its exact date. Badáoní says that it occurred in A.H. 827, but also says that it occurred in the year of Mubárák Sháh's expeditions to the hills of Kumáon and Kaithar, and to Méwát. The author of the *Tabaqát-i-Akbari* does not mention the famine, but he gives the date of these expeditions as A.H. 828. Firishta says that when Mubárák Sháh had, in A.H. 829, subdued the grandsons of Bahádur-i-Náhir, who had taken refuge in the hills of Alwar, he laid waste Méwát, and then, when a famine occurred, returned to Dihlí. We have thus three separate dates given for this famine. The matter is not important, but Firishta's disagreement with the *Tabaqát-i-Akbari*, which he usually follows slavishly, calls for notice. Of the details of this famine and the measures, if any, adopted to relieve those who suffered from it, these authorities tell us nothing.

The Dakan once more engages our attention. In the year A.H. 877 (A.D. 1472-73) a famine began which for two years devastated Malwa and the whole of the Bahmani Empire, including Telingana and Maharashtra. During that period, Firishta tells us little, if any, rain fell. Muhammad Sháh Lashkarí, the thirteenth Sultan of the Bahmani Dynasty, was returning from the siege of Goa, and had halted on his way back to his capital at Bijápúr, destined afterwards to become the glory of the Dakan, and even then, under the fostering care of Mahmúd Gáwán, possessed of attractions sufficient to induce the Sultan to arrest his journey to the capital for the sake of spending a rainy season there. But the rains failed, and Muhammad Sháh's picnic came to naught. He was forced, for want of water, to return to Bidar, which had, some fifty years before, succeeded Hasanabad Gulbarga as the capital of the

Empire. This famine was known, from its having first obtruded itself on the Sultan's notice at Bijápúr, as "the Bijápúr famine," though its ravages, as has been said, were by no means confined to that district. In the following year, when the rains again failed, cities, towns, and villages were depopulated. Most of the inhabitants, says the historian, died. Those who survived fled from the Dakan to Málwa, where they could hardly have been better off, Gujarát, and Bengál. In the famine-stricken country "no seed fell on the land for two years, and when, in the third year, the breeze of God's favour wafted rain to the land," there were none left to till it. A poet-historian writes, with Oriental hyperbole, that when the famine and the pestilence which followed in its wake had swept by, the Dakan "showed no signs of habitation." Of relief measures nothing is said, and it is improbable that anything of the kind was attempted. In the first place the famine was so widespread that no effectual measures of relief would have been practicable with the tardy communications of those days. In the second place, the Sultan can hardly have been prepared to combat a famine, which surprised him on his return from the siege of Goa. That expedition had not completely exhausted the treasury, for Muhammad about this time issued a year's pay to his army. This was done not as a measure of relief, but in expectation of an invasion by the Rája of Orissa, who, hearing of the miserable condition to which the Dakan had been reduced by the famine, had formed the design of invading the Bahmani dominions and compelling the Emperor to restore some recently conquered territory. It is probable that this was a supreme effort which depleted the treasury and left the Sultan without the means to help his starving people.

We now pass over nearly a century, which brings us to the miserable reign of Muhammad, 'Adil of Dihli, commonly called "'Adil." This Emperor reigned nominally for two years, A.H. 961 and 962 (A.D. 1554-55), and the famine occurred in Hindústán in the second year of his

reign, the date being given in the appropriate Persian chronogram *خشم ایزد*, "the wrath of God."\* Neither Firishta nor Nizámu-d-dín Ahmad mentions this famine, but we have a vivid description by Badáoní, an eye-witness of its horrors. He says that it prevailed throughout the eastern portion of Hindustan, but especially affected Agra, Bayána, and Dihlí. It was so severe that "one *ser* of *jawárit* had reached two half-*tankas*, and was, in fact, not to be had even at that price. Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties, or even more, in one place, getting neither grave nor shroud. The Hindús also were in the same plight, and most of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *bábul*-tree, and on wild herbs, also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time. After a few days their hands and feet swelled, and they died. . . . The writer of these pages, with these guilty eyes of his, saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain and dearth of grain and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years' continual anarchy and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked the cities of the Muslims." 'Adil's brief reign was so troubled, and his power was so limited, that administrative measures of relief were out of the question. The mortality must have been enormous.

The next famine to be noticed occurred in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75), the nineteenth year of the reign of Akbar. Its ravages were neither widespread nor lasting, for Gujarát seems to have been the only province seriously affected, and the famine lasted hardly a year. But it seems to have supplied in severity what it lacked in duration and extent. It was accompanied and aggravated by a pestilence. Large

\* The numerical values of the letters are as follows :

$600 + 300 + 40 + 1 + 10 + 7 + 4 = 962.$



numbers of the inhabitants, forsaking their homes, wandered over the country, picking up a living as best they could. A *maund* of grain sold for 120 black *tankas* (thirty shillings), and for four months horses and cattle had no other fodder than the bark of trees. There is no mention of the adoption of any measures of relief. The province affected was a distance from the capital, and the famine was so short-lived, that it is probable the worst part of it was over before its severity was fully realized by the central authority.

The official record of Jahángir's reign mentions no famine, but in the fourth year of the reign of his son and successor, Sháhjahán, the rains failed in the Bálághát, the high land which is included in the southern districts of Berar and the northern portion of the Dakan plateau, but especially in the province of Daulatábád. In the following year, A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630-31), the rainfall was everywhere deficient, but failed completely in Gujarát and the Dakan, a term which then included the provinces of Khándésh, Berar, and Daulatábád. The people of these provinces were grievously afflicted; "they would sell a life for a loaf, but buyer was there none." The flesh of dogs was sold by the butchers as goat's flesh, and the flour which was exposed for sale was mixed with the crushed bones of the dead. These practices did not go unpunished. The fraudulent butchers and grain-merchants were put to death. The sufferings and privations of the people increased, until they were reduced to such straits that human flesh was, as in the days of 'Adilí, used as food. As the chronicler says, "Men began to regard the flesh of their children as sweeter than their love." The roads were strewn with the bodies of the dead. The living used what strength remained to them to flee from the stricken land, so that in many tracts, till then famed for their fertility and the density of their population, no trace of habitation remained. So fearful was the calamity that we are told it rendered of no account all previous famines and pestilences. The chronicler ventures upon the prediction that this famine would be pre-eminently known in after days as "*the famine*."

The relief measures at first adopted were inadequate and not altogether well-advised. Free kitchens were opened, whence bread and broth were distributed *gratis* to the poor and needy. Besides this 5,000 rupees were distributed every Tuesday to the poor at Burhánpúr, where the Imperial camp then was. Tuesday was selected as the day for almsgiving as being the day of the week on which Sháh-jahán ascended the throne. This dole was continued for twenty weeks, so that 100,000 rupees were distributed at Burhánpúr; 50,000 rupees were distributed in like manner at Ahmadábád in Gujarát. A lakh and a half of rupees distributed as largess at two provincial capitals can have had but little effect on the condition of the masses of the people. The relief granted, whether in money or in food, was wholly gratuitous, no service being demanded in return, and it must have demoralized those who received it regularly. A most wise measure of relief was the remission for two years, the famine year and the year which followed it, of a large part of the land revenue. The extent of the remission is interesting, both on account of the statement of the equivalent sums in contemporary coinages which accompanies it, and on account of the proportion which it bears to the total of the land revenue of the Empire. The remission amounted, we are told, to near 7,000,000 rupees in every 40,000,000 rupees, that is to say, to nearly one-sixth of the land revenue. We are also told in the *Pádisháhnáma* that the sum of seventy *lakhs* of rupees was equivalent to over 230,000 *túmáns* of 'Iráq, and to nearly twenty millions of *khánts* of Transoxiana. A rupee being worth then 2s. 3d., we find that the *túmán* of 'Iráq was worth about £3 6s. 1d., and the *kháni* of Transoxiana something over three-fifths of a penny. We are next informed that the remissions amounted to one-eleventh of the revenue of the Empire. The figures already given make it appear, as has been said, that they amounted to one-sixth. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is not far to seek. The remissions amounted to nearly one-sixth of the revenue in

that part of the Empire which was affected by famine, and to one-eleventh of the revenue of the whole Empire. From this we may estimate that more than one-half of the Empire was affected by the famine. This is, of course, a very rough calculation, for it is based on the productiveness of the tracts affected rather than upon their area; but as the area affected was undoubtedly great, and must have included every description of land, from the most fertile to the most barren, the calculation, rough as it is, is probably a fair guide to the area affected. As to the actual amount of the remission, we may take the land revenue of the Empire at £20,000,000,\* one-eleventh of which would be something over £1,900,000.

We hear no more of famine in the reign of Sháhjahán, but the fratricidal wars of his sons, aided by deficient rainfall, produced, in the early part of the reign of Aurangzib, what we may call a semi-artificial famine. Later in the same reign, in A.D. 1687, the Imperial army was besieging Golkonda. In this year the country in the neighbourhood of that fortress was afflicted with an artificial famine. The defenders had collected all the supplies on which they could lay hands and stored them in the fortress. The besieging army then ravaged the country. The siege was prolonged, and during its course the besiegers were attacked by the predatory hordes of Sambhájí, the son and successor of the famous Sivají. It is not likely that the Maráthás left much behind them. We are told that the season was dry, but it scarcely needed this to produce a famine. The besiegers were reduced to dire straits, and the usual order of things was reversed. The besieged troops, though hard pressed, were living in the midst of plenty, while their assailants were suffering such privations that a less deter-

\* This famine occurred in A.D. 1630-31. The revenue of the Empire in 1628 is given by Muhammad Sharif as £18,750,000, while in the previous year, according to the *Pádisháhnáma* it had been £19,680,000. In 1648, according to the same authority, it had risen to £24,750,000. £20,000,000 seems to be a fair estimate in round numbers for the years 1630-31.



mined general than Aurangzib would probably have abandoned the siege. The only alternative to this was to carry the town by storm. This was, after much delay, effected, and the Imperial army forgot its privations in its triumph.

With this famine I will conclude my sketch. I have dealt exclusively with the Muhammadan period of Indian history, but have already exceeded the limits which I proposed to myself when beginning to write. The history of famines in India during the periods of Maráthá supremacy and British rule would be an interesting study, but is one which calls for more space than can be accorded to a single article.

## WATER-SUPPLY IN MITIGATION OF DROUGHT IN INDIA.\*

BY WILLIAM SOWERBY, C.E., M. INST. C.E., F.G.S.

WHEN the periodical Monsoon rains in India partly fail or completely so, and where there are no canals for making compensation for the deficiency of water, the consequences are most serious, amounting to absolute famine. Canals for supplying water and for irrigation are, of course, the best, where these are possible; they are, however, large and very expensive works, taking much time for the working out proper projects and executing them; besides, there are parts of India where they are not always feasible, owing to the contour of the country and the absence of large rivers.

The natives of India have from time immemorial constructed many tanks for holding water, and they have also sunk and carefully built innumerable wells of various depths in every part of the country. Few villages are without such tanks and wells, but the tanks are very small in area and shallow in depth, whilst their wells are sunk to no great depth, generally not much below the superficial alluvial strata. Though much use is made of these tanks and wells, the first are soon exhausted and dried up, and the wells are liable to become foul, and they are generally "brackish," as the salts, nitrates, etc., in the upper strata percolate freely into them; besides, they are frequently full of noxious insects and vermin, such as the guinea-worm.

It is a most singular fact that those who are most interested and concerned in carrying out works of irrigation and such-like have apparently never thought of obtaining large supplies of water by means of artesian wells;

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for the discussion on this paper.

indeed, the writer of this does not know of any single well of that kind in the whole of India. One only has been mentioned, that is, in Burma for tapping the petroleum springs. By means of artesian-bored tube wells, any depth of soils or rocks can be penetrated. This artesian well system is now being considerably developed in the Colonies; it may be said to have been the salvation of parts of Africa, New Zealand, Australia, etc.

In the United States that is the system *par excellence*, not only for water-supply, but for tapping oil and for prospecting purposes. Sinking large well shafts is in the United States a thing of the past; in a few years the costly and useless process of sinking wells of large diameter will become quite obsolete, especially when the cost, doubtful results, fears of surface contamination, etc., are taken into consideration.

The chief points to be generally considered in boring wells are the nature of the strata, likelihood of obtaining water, its character and constancy. These can only be ascertained by the examination of existing wells and a proper hydro-geological survey of the various formations. The geological survey of India has heretofore confined its researches to the fossiliferous, metallurgical, and lithological character of the rocks and the stratification of the country; but the hydrographical characteristics of the mountains and the rivers have never been ascertained, except so far as they relate to bygone changes which have taken place, are now going on, or may hereafter occur. The geological and hydrographical character of the formations through which the great Indian rivers flow are very varied, the rocks being often primary ones, and not very absorbent or retentive of moisture; but the alluvial plains and valleys are certain to contain considerable quantities of water.

Of the gravel-beds below the great rivers I can speak with confidence, having had considerable experience in Guzerat well-sinking, where the wells vary from mere surface excavations to 140 feet and more in depth. Besides,

the trap rocks are occasionally very superficial, and only overlie the more recent formations or tertiary strata, which are full of water when properly tapped. That considerable quantities of water could most undoubtedly be obtained in almost every part of India by means of those deep but inexpensive artesian tube wells is a fact of great importance and value, and if they had been in existence during the recent famines the fearful distress of the population and the loss of animals would have been greatly mitigated, if not absolutely prevented. A few facts are worth more than a thousand theoretical arguments.

Take, for example, the water-supply of the five or six millions of inhabitants in the Thames Valley and in London. This is partly obtained from the river, but a very large proportion of the 150 to 200 millions of gallons and upwards is daily obtained from the superficial gravel-beds below the bottom of the river, and from the deep artesian wells sunk into the chalk formation below the "London clay." True, it has been proposed to bring a larger supply from the mountains in Wales, but a committee of "experts" has decided that ample supplies of water might and could be obtained from the Thames Valley by means of collecting and compensating reservoirs, and deep borings into the chalk and gravel-beds below in the surrounding country.

It is a well-known fact that most of the large breweries, distilleries, hotels, etc., obtain their supplies of water by means of artesian wells to the extent of 50,000,000 gallons daily or more. A most striking and instructive example has been furnished in this country by the Marquis of Salisbury, who has had two such artesian tube wells sunk at Hatfield 300 feet in depth, which yield 12,000 gallons of water per hour, equal to a supply of water for 5,000 inhabitants by working twelve hours daily.

Consider, then, the immense value of a number of such wells sunk near to the large towns and cities in India adjacent to the great noble rivers, to say nothing of the

supplies that might be secured by a series of suitable reservoirs in various localities along the banks of the rivers. Had such wells and reservoirs existed, the dreadful famines might never have occurred.

#### THE PROPOSED PROJECTS—TANKS AND WELLS.

It will be somewhat difficult, in the absence of careful and efficient hydro-geological surveys such as should be made by the geological surveyors of India, to lay down a number of precise projects with the very limited data at our disposal, and it will be still more difficult to arrive at any conclusions as to exact cost of installation of such works ; but from the knowledge I have acquired during my twenty-five years' residence in various parts of India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and more especially Guzerat, where the recent famine has been so exceptionally severe, an approximate estimate of the probable cost of such wells, when they are not extremely deep or through very hard strata, may be assumed as nearly reliable.

When the character of the strata to be penetrated and the probable depth of the wells have been ascertained, then the first expense will be the purchase of suitable boring tools. These vary from £50 for wells 100 feet deep to £70 for wells 150 feet in depth, and for a 300 feet well £120 ; one for 500 feet would be £195 or thereabouts, with some additions for accessories and duplicate parts liable to be worn out. Borings of 2,000 feet and upwards in depth have been made successfully ; but the probable depths in Guzerat might not exceed 150 feet—possibly in some localities 300 feet—especially in the valleys of the large rivers, such as the Nurbudda, Mhye, Taptee, Subermuttee, Dhadur, Kim, Bownugger, Shrotrunjee, etc., which embrace an area of 80,000 square miles.

If, then, we select the following localities for sinking those artesian tube wells, namely, Ahmedabad, Deesa, Baroda,



Cambay, Broach, Bulsar, Surat, Sucheen, Bownugger, Gogo, Wudwan, Hansot, Oolpur, Unclesur, Dhurrumpore, Rajpepla, Nosaree, Gundavee, Mahim, Ahmode, or such other places as might be thought of after a careful examination of the district, guided by such geological data as are already in existence, then we might approximately determine the cost. Of the above twenty towns, cities, and villages, probably one-half (say ten) would require boring apparatus at the cost of from £120 to £195 sterling, and that would be sufficient to penetrate a depth of from 300 feet to 500 feet. The other ten towns and villages would require boring implements costing about £50 to £70. To the above expense must be added the cost of boring, which is the most expensive part of the project, and which can only be determined by an actual and careful survey of the ground and the strata which has to be penetrated. In addition to that, suitable pumps of hand, steam, wind, electrical or other motive power, will have to be provided for each well. These would cost, with 6-inch cylinders yielding 3,500 gallons per hour, £31 10s. each, sufficient daily for 1,000 people, up to £155, with 12-inch cylinders yielding 31,000 gallons per hour, sufficient for 10,000 to 12,000 people for all domestic and household purposes—that is, 30 gallons per diem for each person, the usual standard for London and other large towns in England, etc.

Besides the above, there would be proper engine-houses, stations, etc., necessary, together with delivery and discharge pipes. Adequate supervision would also be required, especially at the outset; but the natives are quite reliable, and so intelligent, that there would be no difficulties whatever in placing such works under their supervision, as they are at present doing a great deal more difficult work on the various railways, iron works, mines, and in the cotton and other factories; they might therefore be safely trusted.

Let us now sum up the results. First, as regards expenditure:

Cost of boring apparatus for ten large cities and towns at £195 each	...	...	£ 1,950
Cost of boring apparatus for ten small towns and villages at £70 each	...	...	700
Cost of duplicates and accessories—twenty at £15 each	...	...	300
Cost of boring in ten large towns at £250 each	...	...	2,500
Cost of boring in ten small towns at £75 each	...	...	750
Cost of engine-power for ten large towns at £155 each	...	...	1,550
Cost of engine-power for ten small towns at £31 10s. each	...	...	315
Cost of buildings for ten large towns at £100 each	...	...	1,000
Cost of buildings for ten small towns at £50 each	...	...	500
Cost of surveys and supervision	...	...	1,000
Total	...	...	£10,565

In the above items for boring apparatus, of course it will be readily understood that the same apparatus can be used and are available for any extension of the system, as they are very durable machines, and thus the cost of extensions would be very materially reduced.

The above estimates are partly from actual well-known data for which such work is usually executed; the indefinite parts are for boring, which has been assumed at 10s. (ten shillings) per foot in depth, and if only a small percentage of the Mansion House Fund were available, or any other fund, the above number of wells might be trebled or quadrupled readily. The twenty wells above indicated would be ample to supply nearly 150,000 inhabitants and their cattle with water. If once the work were begun, it would spread all over the country, as it has done throughout Europe, the United States, etc.

The supplies of water which these wells would yield would, of course, depend greatly on the humidity of the strata or beds of gravel, and other water-bearing strata and rocks. The larger pumps should yield 372,000 gallons in twelve hours daily, or over 30 gallons per head for 12,000 people; the smaller wells should yield 42,000 gallons in

twelve hours, or sufficient for 1,500 people with 30 gallons each, which is the usual allowance per head supposed to be supplied to large cities like London, Manchester, Glasgow, etc.

#### TANKS AND RESERVOIRS.

There are other sources, however, which might be made available, whence large supplies of water could be secured—namely, by means of accumulating and compensating reservoirs constructed along the valleys of the great rivers, or adjacent thereto. Water might be most extensively stored in these reservoirs constructed for catching the water during ordinary or heavy floods. There are many low-lying recesses along those rivers which would require no very considerable amount of labour, with moderate-sized dams, or bunds, to retain considerable quantities of water, to be used only when the Monsoon rains failed. They would be small lakelets, in fact. They are numerous in many countries, especially in Norway and Switzerland, where they are used for obtaining much valuable water-power, ice, etc.; but they are natural lakes.

The artificial lakelets to be formed in India should be as deep as they can possibly be constructed. They would be formed with inlets and short canals, also proper gates or sluices to admit the water during the overflowing of the rivers, which, when the waters began to subside, should be closed to sustain it.

The usual small tanks or pools near to all the villages are as a rule very shallow, seldom more than 2, 3, or 4 feet deep; consequently they are swept up from their surfaces in the hot season by the wind like so much dust from the surface of the ground. The deeper the lakes are, the cooler they remain, and fuller of water, the water retaining, as it were, a quantity of "latent cold."

Possibly something of this kind has been partly done for the employment of labourers during the famines; they should not be very expensive works, being chiefly digging earth, etc., but they would require to be very carefully

selected as to sites, soil, etc., so that the greatest depth could be obtained over the smallest area, and that the bottom soil should be as impervious as possible, when, if the Monsoon rain was not a failure or deficient, then these reservoirs might be used as water power or for irrigation.

Nature teaches us how easily such lakelets can be formed. As before stated, there are numerous examples in most countries, not excepting India, where such lakes as Nainee Thal are kept in to a great depth by very narrow bunds at their outlets. In almost every village in India there is what is called a *Thaloas*, or "tank." These *thaloas* are a very ancient institution all over the country. They are usually of comparatively considerable area, but very shallow in depth. The native idea is to spread the tank over as large an area as possible; if left to themselves they will just dig around the sides, and raise the embankment, but seldom or never think of deepening the middle. This may be partly due to the fact that the middle may have a little water in that part of it; or another reason may be that the strata below a certain depth is a very porous and absorbent soil or gravel.

Many of these tanks have doubtless taken advantage of some natural hollow space in the ground; they are sometimes of considerable extent and depth, as at Chicklee, near Bulsur, and other villages that could be mentioned; but they are generally overgrown with weeds and rushes, and they are the resort of wild ducks, teal, coots, and other aquatic birds, also of fresh-water turtles, and an occasional *mugger*, or small crocodile. At Surat there is a very large *thaloa* of that kind of considerable depth, and formerly with an aqueduct to fill the same from a tributary of the river Taptee. That tank is now quite dry, and cultivated for garden produce. When full it would contain many thousands of gallons of water. Surat being liable to floods, in 1869-70 the tank was opened up to admit the flood-waters. These *thaloas* were evidently originally made for the providing of water for the towns and villages, and as a sort of reservoirs (though most insufficient ones),



in case of failure of the Monsoon rains. They might, however, and could be, greatly improved by using a few dredgers or excavators for deepening them at no very great expense.

#### THE COST OF RESERVOIRS AND TANKS.

In order to give precise estimates of the cost of constructing those accumulating and compensating reservoirs at various points on the sides of the numerous large and small rivers, and to state what would be the benefits to be derived by their construction, it would, of course, be necessary to fix upon suitable and available sites. This could be done by careful inspection. To construct a tank, say, 500 feet long and 200 feet wide, with a depth of 10 feet, if the whole area had to be excavated, that would mean the removal of 1,000,000 cubic feet of earthwork, which at the lowest possible price would cost about £250. In addition to that there would, or might be, a bund, which would cost possibly half as much more, the material excavated being used for such bund with a little pitching on the face. Then there would be a channel and sluice-gate, costing probably £150. And the total would be :

Channel and sluice-gate, costing probably ... ..	£150
Excavating 1,000,000 at 6d. per 100 ... ..	250
Making embankment ... ..	150
Contingencies, say 10 per cent. ... ..	55
Total ... ..	£605

The quantity of water such a reservoir would hold would be six and a half millions of gallons, or sufficient to supply 1,000 inhabitants with water for 260 days at 25 gallons per day each.

One hundred such tanks, costing possibly £50,000, would supply 100,000 inhabitants with water for more than half a year, but there is every reason to believe that the number of tanks could be very greatly multiplied, and these, combined with the artesian wells, would greatly mitigate the acute sufferings of the enormous population of India during the failure of the Monsoon rains. These



supplies of water would, of course, be insufficient for any extent of irrigation of the crops, which must be supplied by rain or by canals from extensive reservoirs. But if every village, or group of villages, were supplied with water from such mills and reservoirs, the poor inhabitants would have some means of quenching their thirst and supplying their most urgent wants in this respect.

But there also remains much to be done in improving the system of cultivation, which is so defective that the ground never absorbs the moisture from the heavy dews, which is a great source of fertility in warm climates like India. The husbanding of their stores should also receive much more attention from the authorities, a thing which would by no means be a novelty in India, and which is quite as much needed in Great Britain and most dangerously neglected.

A careful and familiar examination of Guzerat and other parts of India goes to prove that former native Governments of the country, notwithstanding much that may be condemned, were always most anxious to provide against failures of the Monsoon rains, by making provision in each village by digging tanks and wells. There was also no doubt a very well-arranged system of roads, in evidence of which consequently the remains are found like the old Roman roads or "Leeming Street" in Great Britain. These ancient Indian roads have from time to time been broken up and cultivated, but their continuity throughout the country can be easily traced.

Then, again, as regards the system of cultivation: that must have been much superior to what it is at present, and more greatly cared for and encouraged by the then existing Governments. Even in the Himalayas the land was very carefully and systematically terraced and cultivated up to great heights, which terraces are now abandoned. There are likewise abundant evidences that the "Terai," the pestilential jungle at the base of the mountains, was systematically drained and cultivated.

The output of cotton, corn, and other crops, was said to

be double what it is now at the present day in ordinary seasons. Whether that is due to the impoverishment of the soil at the present time, or to a better system of cultivation formerly, may be a matter for discussion ; but the latter is most probable. Besides, cultivators had in their villages many occupations in industries requiring the greatest skill (such as Dacca muslin), which have now become quite obsolete, just as the many old-fashioned occupations of the peasantry in Great Britain, who used to dress the wool, spin, weave, and wear the clothes, all of which are now things of the past ; and it is a curious fact that though these occupations have ceased, both in India and England, yet the agricultural industry is much less perfect and decidedly less profitable and productive, so that the manufacturing industry carried on by machinery is apparently the bane of good agriculture both in this country and in India.

I am fully aware that the idea of introducing artesian wells may possibly not be promptly accepted or favourably received by the Indian authorities. It is just about eighty years ago since General Sir Arthur Cotton urged the introduction and extension of canal irrigation, but he was then met with the most indifferent encouragement, if not actual opposition ; and even yet the system is not always favourably accepted, and, until recently, was regarded with doubt as to its full value. This, however, may be partly due to the want of competent engineers to design such works. When the Monsoon rains fail, the problem is one of extreme difficulty, for 36 inches of rainfall means 3,600 tons of water per acre, and no human power or means can do more than mitigate such calamities, and this the proposed artesian wells and reservoirs would in a very substantial manner accomplish.

The frequent recurrences of those Indian famines, without adequate means of mitigating such calamities, are a disgrace to the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century, as well as to the scientific experts whose business it is to discover suitable remedies.

## I.—CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY G. B. BARTON, SYDNEY, N.S.W.

LIKE the physical changes in the earth's crust, the work of social reform is necessarily so slow and gradual that we are apt to lose sight of the great results arrived at in any given space of time. Perhaps there is no branch of it that can be regarded with greater satisfaction than the improvement of the criminal law during the present century. Nothing, certainly, is more characteristic of the humanitarian tendency of the age than the changes that have taken place, and are still taking place, in the methods adopted for the punishment of crime and the treatment of criminals. Whether they are accompanied by a corresponding decrease in crime itself, it may be difficult to say ; but one thing at least is certain : humanity is no longer disgraced by the excessive severity of the criminal laws, or outraged by their execution.

Looking back to the latter half of the eighteenth century, it is appalling to observe the terrible catalogue of offences which then brought the offender within the hangman's reach, and the still more terrible spectacles presented even in the streets of London, when the penalties of the law were exacted. It was a capital offence, for instance, to pick a pocket—technically called "stealing privately from the person"; a capital offence to steal privately in a shop goods to the value of five shillings ; to steal goods to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling-house or on a navigable river ; to steal linen from a bleaching-ground ; to break and enter a dwelling-house ; to steal a letter ; to steal a horse, an ox, or a sheep ; to be found begging, if a soldier or a sailor ; to return to England after having been transported, if the term had not expired ; to destroy any tree, plant, or shrub in a garden ; to hunt any deer unlaw-

fully; to appear armed, or with the face blacked or otherwise disguised, in any forest, warren or place where hares and rabbits were usually kept, or on any highroad, open heath, or common. The great number of offences of this description, which had been declared to be capital felonies, seems to have astonished even Blackstone, who loved to extol "the wisdom and humanity of the laws of England." He pointed out, in 1769, that "among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than 160 had been declared by Act of Parliament to be felonies without benefit of clergy."

The class of offenders usually executed at Tyburn, and the spectacle presented there when executions took place, may be seen in an ordinary news item published in the *London Evening Post*, under date October 9, 1782: "Yesterday morning, about nine o'clock, the following malefactors were brought out of Newgate and carried to Tyburn in three carts, where they were executed according to their sentences, viz.:—Henry Berthand, for feloniously personating one Mark Groves, the proprietor of £100 three per cent. annuities, and transferring the same as if he was the real owner thereof; William Jones, for stealing, in a warehouse in Aldersgate Street, a deal box containing a quantity of haberdashery goods; Peter Verrier, accomplice with Charles Kelly, executed for burglary in the house of Mrs. Pollard in Great Queen Street; William Odern, for robbing two women in Spafields; Charles Woollett, for robbing Bernard John Cheale, on the highway, of a metal watch; John Graham, for feloniously altering the principal sum of a bank-note of £15, so as to make the same appear to be a bank-note of £50, with intent to defraud; Charlotte Goodall and John Edmonds, for stealing in the dwelling-house of Mrs. Fortesque at Tottenham, where she lived as servant, a great quantity of plate, linen, etc.; Thomas Cladenboul, for assaulting Robert Chilton on the highway and robbing him of a gold watch; John Weatherly and John Lafee, for feloniously and treasonably coining and



counterfeiting the silver moneys of the realm called shillings and sixpences. They all behaved very penitent."

As another means of realizing the wisdom and humanity of the old criminal law, we may picture, in the mind's eye, the peculiar spectacles which justified Charles Knight in describing London as "the City of the Gallows." In passing up the Thames, for instance, the traveller would probably see a succession of gibbets standing on its banks, with the remains of mutineers, or persons who had committed murder on the high seas, hanging from them. One of the docks in London was called "Execution Dock," because criminals of that class were usually condemned to suffer there. After they had been hanged in chains, their bodies were cut down and removed to the gibbets on the river banks, where they were left suspended in chains—a feature in the scenery which Hogarth has preserved in his "Idle 'Prentice sent to Sea."

If he entered London by Oxford Street, "Tyburn Tree" would certainly attract his attention, especially when ten or twelve criminals were about to suffer in the presence of a crowd of people gathered round it, indulging in the sports and pastimes usual on such occasions—as we may see in Hogarth's "Idle 'Prentice executed at Tyburn." If he passed over any of the heaths or commons which then surrounded London—say Blackheath, Wimbledon, or Finchley Common—a gibbet, with a highwayman hanging in chains, would probably form a conspicuous feature of the landscape. Even in the streets of the city he might have seen the gallows standing with its dreadful pendent. In 1763 the Annual Register noted the fact that "all the gibbets in the Edgeware Road, on which many malefactors were hung in chains, were cut down by persons unknown." In 1786 a scaffold was erected opposite a house in Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, formerly inhabited by an attorney who had been murdered in it. The murderer was hanged in front of it, according to the prevailing custom of inflicting punishment on the spot where the



crime had been committed. Seven years afterwards a burglar was ordered for execution in Hatton Gardens, near the house he had robbed ; but having escaped execution by suicide, his body was exhibited in the neighbourhood, "extended upon a plank on the top of an open cart, in his clothes and fettered." This, perhaps the most loathsome practice of the time, continued for many years afterwards. A similar case occurred in 1811, when the cart containing the suicide's body was preceded by a long procession composed of constables who cleared the way with their staves, a newly organized horse patrol with drawn swords, parish and peace officers, and the High Constable of the County of Middlesex on horseback. After the Lord George Gordon Riots of 1780, the gallows was carried about from street to street of the City, and each of the condemned men was hanged on the spot pointed out by the witnesses as the scene of his offence.

Crime had apparently risen to its highest recorded level in England in 1787, the number of criminals executed in that year being 101. Newgate, with all its horrible associations, was then in its glory, a centre of attraction for vicious and degraded people of all classes, who flocked to its spectacles from both ends of the City. In the twelve years between 1771 and 1783 no less than 467 persons were hanged in London and Middlesex, an average of rather less than forty per annum. During the twenty-three years from 1749 to 1772 the number of persons condemned to death at the Old Bailey was 1,121, of whom 678 suffered death, a yearly average of less than thirty. These figures relate to London only ; they do not include the cases in the country towns, to which the judges went on circuit.

Executions were, comparatively, almost as common in the country as they were in the Metropolis. The Lent Assizes of 1785 were followed by nine at Kingston, nine at Lincoln, nine at Gloucester, seven at Warwick, six at Exeter, six at Winchester, six at Salisbury, five at Shrewsbury, and so on all over the country. The total number of

capital sentences in England for that year was 242, out of which there were 103 executions.

London itself stood without a rival among all the capital cities of Europe in its display of public executions, just as it did in the abominations of prison life. The contrast between the criminal laws of England and those of other European countries may be seen in the facts mentioned by Howard, the prison reformer, in his work on the "State of the Prisons." When in Amsterdam on his tour of inquiry among the prisons, he found that during the eight years before his arrival there in 1783 only five criminals had been executed out of a population of 250,000, about one-third of that of London. In the seven provinces which constituted the Dutch Republic there were seldom more than five or six executions in the course of the year. These statistics are quite enough to justify Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's statement in his "History of the Criminal Law," that the English people during the last century were, as a rule, "singularly reckless about taking human life."

The recklessness was shown not only in the multitude of cases in which life was taken, but in the manner of taking it. By an Act passed in 1752, for instance, murderers were allowed but one clear day to prepare for death, and after execution their bodies were handed over to the surgeon for anatomical practice. The frequency of executions may be gathered from the following facts, related by John Townsend, a Bow Street officer, examined before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1816: "Lord Chief Justice Eyre once went the Home Circuit, beginning at Hertford and finishing at Kingston, when crimes were so desperate that, in his charge to the Grand Jury at Hertford, he told them to be careful what bills they found, for he had made up his mind, whatever persons were convicted throughout the circuit for capital offences, to hang them all. And he kept his word; he saved neither man nor woman. In one case seven people, four men and three women, were convicted of robbing a pedlar in a house in Kent Street.

They were all convicted, and all hanged in Kent Street opposite the door, and, I think, on Kennington Common eight more, making fifteen. All that were convicted were hung." And generally, he observed, "with respect to the present time and the early part of my time, such as 1781-87, where there is one person convicted now, I may say I am positively convinced there were five then. We never had an execution wherein we did not grace that unfortunate gibbet with ten, twelve, to thirteen, sixteen and twenty."

Many allusions to this characteristic recklessness might be quoted from the literature of the last century. Sheridan illustrated it with his usual point when he asked, during a debate in the House of Commons on a Bill making it a capital offence to destroy any tree, shrub, or plant in a garden, "Was it under the pretence of protecting nursery grounds that they proposed to make it felony in a school-boy to rob an orchard, or was it contended that gooseberry bushes ought to be fenced round with gibbets?"

It was to this recklessness, again, that the practice of duelling owed its popularity throughout the same period. The laws made to prevent it were evaded, the courts winked at it when they could, and the opinion of Parliament—no doubt in harmony with that of society—seemed to be rather in its favour than otherwise. In the course of a debate in the House of Commons on the duel between the Earl of Shelburne and Fullarton in 1780, one member (referring to Edmund Burke) said: "Did the honourable gentleman think that any order or resolution of the House, any Act of the Legislature, could prevent a gentleman going out, as it was termed, with another if he felt his honour injured? Had gentlemen so soon forgot that there were Acts of Parliament against duelling now in being? The very attempt to prevent one man fighting with another was absurd, because it was impossible by any regulation of Parliament to prevent it." To which Burke replied that the right honourable gentleman could not surely imagine

that he was so absurd as to attempt to make laws for the restraint of the human feelings and passions. He, therefore, saw nothing particularly reprehensible in the practice; either he had nothing to say against it, or he thought it prudent to refrain from expressing his opinion. Pitt and Fox each fought his duel, and Dr. Johnson defended the practice.

There were other exhibitions of human suffering to be seen, even more horrible than that of men hanging from the scaffold in public places. The old law under which women were burned as well as hanged for petty treason—that is, for killing a husband or a master, or for coining—was not abolished till 1789. In the year before it was put in force against a woman convicted of coining, but out of consideration for her sex she was first strangled and then burned. She was first tied by the neck to an iron bolt fixed near the top of the stake, the steps on which she stood were taken away, and she was left hanging; then a chain attached to the stake was fastened round her body, two cartloads of wood were piled about her, and after she had hung for half an hour the fire was kindled. The flames soon burned the halter, when the body fell a few inches and hung by the iron chain. This scene took place in front of Newgate Gaol, in the presence of the usual crowd. Other executions of the same kind took place in 1767, 1750, and 1726. In the last case the woman was burnt alive. “The fire reaching the hangman’s hands, he let go the rope by which she was to have been strangled, and the flames slowly consumed her as she pushed the blazing faggots from her, rending the air with her agonized cries.”

These were not the only savage forms of punishment to which women were subjected during the same period. They were frequently ordered to be flogged or whipped, sometimes at the cart’s-tail in public, and sometimes in prison. In 1764 a woman was conveyed in a cart from Clerkenwell Bridewell to Enfield three times, and publicly



whipped at the cart's-tail by the common hangman. The offence for which she suffered was "cutting down and destroying wood in Enfield Chase," probably to light her fire. Women were not only whipped for offences of which they had been convicted, but were punished in the same manner while in prison at the discretion of the gaol authorities. A whipping-post was set up in every prison yard, and they were mercilessly castigated at it for neglect of duty or insubordination, the punishment being inflicted on their bare backs. This form of punishment lasted till 1820.

Female offenders seem to have been treated with quite as much severity as the men, if not with more. They were not only burned to death as well as hanged, not only flogged in public as well as in private, but while in gaol they were heavily ironed, and often left without clothes enough to preserve common decency. Governor Phillip's letters from Sydney to the Secretary of State described the condition of the women put on board the first fleet bound for New South Wales in 1787 as disgusting; they were "very filthy and almost naked," and, notwithstanding his repeated requests for clothing, they were allowed to sail without any, a neglect which seems to have been quite in keeping with official practice.

When Mrs. Fry began her visits to the female prisoners in Newgate in 1813, she found them all in the state described by Phillip. Even before they were lodged in gaol they were shamefully neglected and ill-used. According to Griffiths' "*Chronicles of Newgate*": "Many were brought to the prison almost without clothes. If coming from a distance, as in the case of convicts lodged in Newgate until embarkation, they were almost invariably ironed, and often cruelly so. One lady saw the female prisoners from Lancaster Castle arrive, not merely handcuffed, but with heavy irons on their legs, which had caused swelling and inflammation. Others wore iron hoops round their legs and arms, and were chained to each other. On the journey these poor souls could not get up or down from the coach without the whole of them being dragged together."



The practice of putting prisoners of both sexes in irons, even before their trial, had been long established, although it was known to be illegal, so far, at least, as concerned persons awaiting trial. Blackstone said that "The law will not justify jailers in fettering a prisoner unless when he is unruly, or has attempted an escape." And he adds that in 1728 the judges reprimanded the warders of the Fleet, and declared that the gaolers could not answer the ironing of a man before he was found guilty of a crime. The only excuse that could be offered for it was that it was difficult to prevent the escape of prisoners unless they were loaded with clanking irons, owing to the insecurity of the buildings in which they were confined. This cruelty was not only practised in the case of persons actually in gaol, but those who were on their way to it were treated in the same way. There were no police vans to convey them from court to prison; they were marched through the streets in gangs, handcuffed to one another, or linked to a long chain, men and women alike. Anyone who had money to pay for a vehicle might have one, provided the escort warder thought fit to make such a concession, or was honest enough to get the vehicle after receiving the money. Prison vans did not come into use until 1827, when "caravans," as they were called, were introduced.

Flogging was a popular form of punishment from very early times in England, and it was equally common in Scotland. It was freely administered to all kinds of petty offenders—thieves, prostitutes, street brawlers, rogues, and vagabonds—the punishment taking place sometimes in public, when the offender was tied to a cart's-tail and flogged through the streets, or at the market-place. In the time of Elizabeth the whipping-post was an established institution in every town and village. Municipal records contain frequent allusions to the practice. The fee paid to the officer of justice was usually fourpence in each case. Sometimes women were employed to whip offenders of their own sex. By an Act passed in her reign, every

vagabond was to be publicly whipped, and then sent to the parish where he was born. The law remained in force till the reign of Anne. The poet Cowper, in one of his letters, describes the flogging of a young thief through the town of Olney. In London, the principal places for punishment of this description appear to have been the Bridewells, or Houses of Correction. The spectacle was open to the public, and was largely attended by sightseers. De Foe has described the scene with characteristic force in his "Life of Colonel Jack." According to the practice of the time, the men and women taken into custody by the watch were brought before the magistrates, and usually committed to Bridewell. They were then brought before the Court of Governors on their usual sitting day, the offence in each case was stated by the beadles, and the court gave its decision, generally to the effect that the offenders should be corrected on the spot. The beadles at once prepared the culprits for punishment by stripping their clothes off, and the flogging was administered until the president thought proper to stop it, which he did by rapping with a hammer on the table. At the close of this ceremony the prisoners were handed over to the officials to pass the term of their imprisonment in beating hemp.

The practice of flogging in the army and navy was carried to an extreme which seems incredible in the present day. The most notorious instance of excessive punishment will be found in the trial of Colonel Wall, executed in 1802 for having caused the death of Sergeant Armstrong at Goree, an island off the African coast, twenty years previously. According to the statement made by the Attorney-General at the trial, Armstrong's offence consisted in his having gone with several other soldiers to the Paymaster's house for a settlement of their claims. Although he was not guilty of any mutinous or disrespectful conduct, Wall, who was Commandant of the garrison, without any form or trial or inquiry, ordered him to be punished with 800 lashes, and personally superintended the flogging. The unfor-

fortunate man was stripped and tied to a gun-carriage, and two black men were employed to flog him with a rope an inch in diameter. He died in hospital five days afterwards.

Although there was no doubt that Wall deserved punishment, there was at least one consideration that might have been urged in support of his plea for mercy. He was the victim of a vicious system which had established itself in the army and navy, under which it had become a common practice among commanders in both services to inflict punishment without the formality of a trial by court-martial. Sir Samuel Romilly mentions in his "Memoirs" a case which was brought before the Privy Council while he was Solicitor-General in Fox's administration in 1806. A Lieutenant in the navy was charged with the murder of three seamen at Bombay in the year 1801. They had been flogged without any court-martial having been held on them, and the punishment was inflicted with such horrible severity that they all three died in less than twenty-four hours after it was over. In the course of the examination before the Council, it appeared that it was not uncommon for officers of the navy to inflict very severe punishment on their own authority, their idea being that it was a mere matter of discipline.

Two other instances are mentioned by Romilly which seem to have originated in the same spirit of reckless indifference to results. One was that of a soldier at Gibraltar, "whose only offence was that he had come dirty upon the parade," and who was thereupon flogged with such severity that he died a few days afterwards. In the other case, a man who had been thirty years in the Guards, and who had been removed into the veteran battalion in the Tower as a reward for good conduct, was sentenced at the age of sixty to receive 300 lashes, "because he had been absent a day" from duty. Romilly does not state that these punishments were inflicted without trial, but a charge of "appearing dirty on parade" would seem to be

rather beneath the dignity of a military court. The court-martials, however, did not stand much upon their dignity in these matters. Any breach of discipline, however slight, was sufficient to set them in motion. In 1792, a sergeant named Grant was sentenced to 1,000 lashes for having enlisted two drummers of the Coldstream Guards into the East India Company's service; and in 1832 a private in the Scots Greys was tried and sentenced to 200 lashes "for highly unsoldierlike conduct in dismounting without leave, when taking his lesson in the riding-school, and absolutely refusing to remount his horse when ordered to do so."

The manner in which this form of punishment was administered in the army is forcibly described by Sir Charles Napier in his "Military Law." Referring to the time when he was a subaltern, he says: "I then frequently saw six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred, nine hundred, and a thousand lashes sentenced by regimental courts-martial; and generally every lash inflicted. I have heard of twelve hundred having been inflicted, but never witnessed such an execution. Even a general court-martial cannot do this now. Its sentence cannot exceed two hundred lashes. I then often saw the unhappy victim of such barbarous work brought out from the hospital three or four times to receive the remainder of his punishment, too severe to be borne without danger of death at one flogging; and sometimes I have witnessed this prolonged torture applied for the avowed purpose of adding to its severity. On these occasions it was terrible to see the new tender skin of the scarcely healed back again laid bare to receive the lash. I declare that, accustomed as I was to such scenes, I could not on these occasions bear to look at the first blows; the feeling of horror which ran through the ranks was evident, and all soldiers know the frequent faintings that take place among recruits when they first see a soldier flogged."

Some commanders appear to have studied flogging as an art, with a view to the infliction of the greatest possible



torture on the victim : " I have heard, and I have no doubt of the fact, because it was generally talked of and admitted to be so, though I never saw it, that there were commanding officers who distributed the lashes from the poll of the neck to the heel, thus flaying the shoulders, posteriors, thighs, and calves of the legs, multiplying the torment enormously ; but I believe it was done, and legally, too, according to the wording of the sentence which ordered or permitted such cruelty."

But even artistic flogging was effective only up to a certain point. " I have seen many hundreds of men flogged, and have always observed that when the skin is thoroughly cut up, or flayed off, the great pain subsides. Men are frequently convulsed and screaming during the time they receive from one to three hundred lashes, and they bear the remainder, even to eight hundred or a thousand, without a groan. They will often lie as if without life, and the drummers appear to be flogging a lump of dead raw flesh."

Bad as matters were in the army, they were even worse in the navy. The captain of a ship afloat was practically judge and jury in all cases ; public opinion rarely or never reached him, and he was consequently under no restraint in the exercise of his powers, while the prospect of obtaining redress by complaint to the Admiralty was too remote to afford any protection to the men under his command. But that was not all. " One lash in the navy was considered equivalent in severity to several in the army, and although the lashes were numbered by dozens instead of hundreds, twelve stripes afloat were equal to a hundred on shore. This was partly owing to the make and material of the cat, and also to the mode of flogging. The naval cat was altogether more formidable than the military one, being made out of a piece of rope thicker than a man's wrist, five feet in length all over, three of which were stiff and solid stuff, and the remaining two feet ravelled into hard twisted and knotted ends." The military cat, accord-



ing to another writer, was a weapon about eighteen inches in length, armed with thongs of the same length, each thong bearing five or six knots, compressed and hardened into sharp edges till each had acquired the consistency of horn.

The sentence of a court-martial was not considered a necessary preliminary to the use of the cat on board a man-of-war. There may be some exaggeration in the stories told by Captain Marryat on the subject, but if his narratives were not always founded on fact, his descriptions were drawn from his own experience during the years he was at sea. The story of the captain of an eighteen-gun brig ordering five dozen lashes to be given to a seaman for spitting on the quarter-deck may be a humorous invention, but it is, nevertheless, a good illustration of the manner in which punishment was usually administered in the navy at that period. It was inflicted not only by the captains and superior officers, but by the boatswain and boatswain's mates, who carried rattans or rope's ends to quicken the movements of the men. The practice continued for many years after the close of the eighteenth century. The agitation in Parliament for its abolition began in 1811, but it was not until 1859 that corporal punishment was restricted to cases of insubordination or other serious offences, established before a court of inquiry held by a Captain and two Lieutenants. The results of the abolition form an unanswerable argument in favour of the reform. At no time in the history of the army and navy was discipline better than it is in the present day, when flogging is never heard of—a fact which justifies the conclusion that discipline might have been maintained in both services throughout the whole of the flogging period with very little recourse to that method of correction.

The temper of the age with respect to the question of crime and its punishment may perhaps be best understood by reviewing the efforts made to reform the existing system. During the century no serious or systematic effort was made for that purpose; it is doubtful, indeed,

whether the House of Commons would have listened to any proposals of the kind. The Lords would certainly have rejected them as summarily as they would have negatived a motion to extend the franchise to the working classes or a Bill to abolish the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. The political speeches and memoirs of the time are curiously silent on the subject. No member of either House had ventured to take up the question as Romilly took it up in later years. Not one of the many great speeches delivered by Burke, Fox, Pitt, and Sheridan, was devoted to the question. While boys were frequently hanged in rows for offences for which they would now be sent to reformatories, the great statesmen and orators of the day looked on in silence. They appear to have taken little or no interest in social problems, partly because such questions were lost sight of in the greater attractions of foreign affairs, culminating at one time in the War of American Independence, and at another in the French Revolution, and partly because politicians had not then learned to look upon the reform of social evils as of paramount importance to the welfare of the nation. During Pitt's eighteen years of office he might have effected considerable changes in the administration of justice, had he pleased ; but he left it as he found it.

No statesman of the day was better qualified than Burke to deal with such a subject. He had not only studied jurisprudence, but he had an instinctive perception of its principles ; and yet in the whole circuit of his studies there is no evidence that he had devoted any serious attention to the reform of the criminal law. A casual reference to the matter may be found here and there in his speeches, as, for instance, when he said, on a motion to commit a Bill making it felony to destroy any tree, plant, or shrub in a garden, that "the whole system of the penal laws was radically defective," and recommended "a revision of the whole criminal law, which in its present state he considered abominable." This was enough to show that the

tendency of his own mind was wholly opposed to the barbarous code and revolting methods of punishment then in existence; but at the same time it is equally clear that, for reasons we can only conjecture, he refrained from touching the work of reform. On one occasion, during the year 1780, he was roused from his apparent indifference by an occurrence which had come under his notice "in the newspapers of that morning." Two men had been put in the pillory the day before, and had been so cruelly ill-treated that one of them was killed outright, while the other was removed in a dying state. In stating the facts to the House, he said :

"In making criminal laws it behoved them materially to consider how they proceeded; to take care wisely and nicely to proportion the punishment, so that it should not exceed the extent of the crime, and to provide that it should be of that kind which was more calculated to operate as an example and prevent crimes, than to oppress and torment the convicted criminal."

He did not give his opinion as to the actual proportion between crime and punishment, but rather left the House to infer that, as a rule, one was "wisely and nicely" proportioned to the other. The case to which he referred might well have led him to look a little further than the mere facts connected with it. One of the men, being not only short, but short-necked, could not reach the hole in the pillory made for the head, whereupon "the officers of justice" forced his head through the hole, so that he hung rather than walked as the pillory went round. The result was that he soon grew black in the face, and the blood forced itself out of his nostrils, eyes, and ears. Knowing the treatment he would probably receive from the mob when he was exposed to their violence, he had begged hard for mercy before his punishment began; but his plea was not listened to, and he was immediately attacked with so much fury that the officers, in order to save him, opened the machine, when he fell down dead.

Burke spoke of this atrocious proceeding as "a melancholy circumstance"—language he might have used had he been speaking of someone who had fallen downstairs and broken his leg. No one in his day could use the language of invective with more effect, but on this occasion he contented himself with a very mild remonstrance. He asked the House whether it would not be right to abolish a mode of punishment liable to such perversion, and intimated at the same time that, if no man would take the matter in hand, he would bring in a Bill for the purpose. But no Bill was brought in for the purpose, either by him or by any other member. The Attorney-General said in reply that he would require to consult the judges before he could interfere, but the result of his consultations, if any, was never seen.

A Bill for the abolition of the pillory was rejected by the Lords in 1815 on the motion of Lord Ellenborough, who said that the subject required consideration, and ought to be referred to the judges. According to Romilly, "He talked about the antiquity of the punishment both in England and the rest of Europe, and said that it was mentioned by Fleta and Ducange; and as usual declaimed against innovation."

If Burke was disposed to be silent on the subject of reform, he was equally reserved as to the moral effect of such a system of punishment on the masses. He saw clearly enough, no doubt, that under the debasing influence of public exhibitions men had become not only indifferent to suffering, but had learned to look on it as a source of amusement. Had it not been so, such a scene could not have been witnessed in the streets of London. But it would have been useless to raise any question as to the moral result of an established system. It was the settled conviction of society that exhibitions of the kind were necessary in order to deter people from committing crime, just as the practice of mutilating and branding offenders was retained for centuries, under the belief that it was the



best means of producing a good moral impression on the multitude.

The reform of the criminal law made no appreciable progress until it was taken in hand by Romilly, who identified himself with the cause as zealously as Wilberforce devoted himself to the abolition of the slave-trade. Compared with his design, however, Romilly's actual achievements were very limited; the greatest consisted in having thoroughly awakened men's minds on the subject, and so prepared the way for his successors. The determined opposition he met with, even in places where he might reasonably have looked for sympathy, if not with active assistance, is enough to show the nature of the task he had undertaken. In 1808 he succeeded in passing a Bill to repeal the old Act which punished pocket-picking with death; but he met with very different results two years afterwards, when he introduced Bills to substitute transportation for death in cases of stealing in shops or dwelling-houses. The Bills were passed in the Commons, but were thrown out by a majority of nearly three to one in the Lords. Among those who opposed the Stealing-in-Shops Bill were seven Bishops, the Archbishop of Canterbury among them. Romilly charitably supposed that they voted against his Bill "out of servility towards the Government," because he was unwilling to believe that they, "recollecting the mild doctrines of their religion, could have come down to the House spontaneously to vote that transportation for life is not a sufficiently severe punishment for the offence of pilfering five shillings' worth of property, and that nothing but the blood of the offender could afford an adequate atonement for such a transgression."

It was not necessary to impute servility to the Bishops in order to account for their votes. They may be credited with having acted conscientiously, seeing that their opinions coincided with those of distinguished law lords, refined moral philosophers, and other eminent persons, including

the members of the Perceval Government. Perhaps the most popular as well as the most authoritative work on moral and political philosophy in their days was Paley's, originally published in 1785, and Paley not only approved of, but applauded, the criminal laws of his time as the best possible method of administering penal justice. His view was that the law of England, by the number of statutes creating capital offences, swept into the net every crime which under any possible circumstances might merit the punishment of death, but that when the execution of the sentence came under the consideration of the Executive, a small proportion only of each class of offenders was singled out, to serve as examples to the rest. By this means, while few criminals actually suffered death, "the tenderness of the law" could not be taken advantage of by others. The happy result so arrived at proved "the wisdom and humanity" of the design.

The "tenderness of the law" seems to have been an article of faith with many distinguished men besides Blackstone and Paley. Burke, for instance, in 1785 spoke of England as "a country which prided itself on the mild and indulgent principles of its laws."

To minds trained under such influences, any proposals for reform which had the appearance of relaxing the iron grasp of the law seemed to be so many dangerous innovations threatening the security of property, and therefore the foundations of society. Proposals for education in public schools were looked at in much the same light, and met with almost as much opposition. Every other movement in the direction of reform—we might, perhaps, except Howard's agitation for the improvement of the prisons—met with a similar fate. It was sufficient to stigmatize any scheme of the kind as an "innovation" in order to enlist against it everyone who believed in things as they were instead of things as they should be. Even a proposal to do away with the procession to Tyburn met with opposition in 1783, as we may see in Dr. Johnson's remarks on the subject.

"The age is running mad after innovation, and all the business of the world is to be done in a new way; men are to be hanged in a new way. Tyburn itself is not safe from the fury of innovation." It having been argued that this was an improvement, "No, sir," said he eagerly, "it is not an improvement: they object that the old method drew together a number of spectators. Sir, executions are intended to draw spectators. If they do not draw spectators, they don't answer their purpose. The old method was most satisfactory to all parties. The public was gratified by a procession; the criminal was supported by it. Why is all this to be swept away?" To which Boswell thought it necessary to add: "I perfectly agree with Dr. Johnson on this head, and am persuaded that executions now, the solemn procession being discontinued, have not nearly the effect which they formerly had. Magistrates, both in London and elsewhere, have, I am afraid, in this had too much regard to their own ease."

While Governor Phillip and his successors in office have been unsparingly criticised for the severity with which the law was administered by them, their contemporaries in England considered them much too lenient. A striking illustration of opinion on the subject presents itself in a letter written by Sir Joseph Banks to Governor King in 1804, in which he referred to this matter with marked emphasis: "There is only one part of your conduct as Governor which I do not think right—that is, your frequent reprieves. I would have justice, in the case of those under your command who have already forfeited their lives and been once admitted to a commutation of punishment, to be certain and inflexible, and no one instance on record where mere mercy, which is a deceiving sentiment, should be permitted to move your mind from the inexorable decree of blind Justice. Circumstances may often make clemency necessary—I mean those of suspected error in conviction—but mere whimpering soft-heartedness never should be heard." The plain inference from this

language is that every convict who committed a second offence, for which he was liable to death as the law then stood, should be hanged without mercy. We have only to recall the long list of capital offences at that time to understand what Sir Joseph meant by "the inexorable decree of blind Justice." And yet he was generally credited by those who knew him with great generosity and kindliness of disposition.

The current of public opinion may be seen in the kind of legislation that met with favour in Parliament. While it proved to be such a very difficult matter to repeal a law inflicting death for a trifling offence, nothing seemed easier than to pass an Act imposing it for a new one, however trivial it might be. Romilly mentions that during the Session of 1816 a Bill was introduced in the Commons by a colliery proprietor making it a capital offence to destroy any machinery employed in a colliery, although there was a law already in existence to that effect. The Bill attracted no attention in the House, passing through all its stages as a matter of course—"as if the life of a man was of so little account with us that anyone might, at his pleasure, add to the long list of capital crimes which disgrace our statute books." Burke made the same remark thirty years before to Sir James Mackintosh: "Mr. Burke once told me that, on a certain occasion when he was leaving the House, one of the messengers called him back, and, on his saying he was going on urgent business, replied, 'Oh, it will not keep you a single moment; it is only a felony without benefit of clergy!' He also assured me that, although, as may be imagined from his political career, he was not often entitled to ask a favour from the Ministry of the day, he was persuaded that his interest was at any time good enough to obtain their assent to the creation of a felony without benefit of clergy."

The laws in question were made for the protection of property, and were made at the instance of property-owners—merchants, manufacturers, and country gentlemen—who held seats in Parliament. Lord John Russell explained the



practice in his "English Government": "A merchant or squire goes into the House of Commons exasperated by the loss of his broadcloth or the robbery of his fish, and immediately endeavours to restrain the crime by severe penalties. Hence it is that, every man judging that to be the most deadly offence by which he is himself a sufferer, the Parliament has permitted the statute book to be loaded with the penalty of death for upwards of two hundred offences."

When Burke went down to Bristol in 1780 to address his constituents, a portion of his speech was occupied with an elaborate defence of his votes in favour of a Bill, introduced during the previous Session, dealing with the law relating to imprisonment for debt. It proposed to restrict in some measure the unlimited power, then exercised by creditors, of detaining a debtor in prison as long as the debt was unpaid. His ideas were not in favour among the commercial classes of Bristol. The absurdity as well as the injustice of the law was exposed in a few sentences. In the first place, he said, every man was presumed to be solvent, a presumption quite at variance with facts; and, secondly, imprisonment for debt was inflicted, not because an impartial judge considered it necessary, but because an interested and irritated individual chose to demand it, the judge being a passive instrument in his hands. To such an extent had this abuse been carried, that the gaols were everywhere crowded with miserable debtors, and Parliament was frequently obliged to interfere. For a long time previously "Acts of Grace" had been passed once, and sometimes twice, in every Parliament, by which the gaol doors were thrown open and their inmates released. These Acts he described as "a dishonourable invention, by which, not from humanity, not from policy, but merely because we have not room enough to hold these victims of the absurdity of our laws, we turn loose upon the public three or four thousand naked wretches corrupted by the habits, debased by the ignominy, of a prison."

These instances will be enough to show the character of the criminal law as it was in the palmy days of the British Parliament. The contrast between the intellectual powers of the age as they were displayed in politics, laws, and literature, and the ghastly barbarities that disgraced the administration of justice, is one of the most striking features in the history of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the best explanation that can be given of it is that, with all the artificial polish of society, the sentiment of humanity had not been developed in any sensible degree.

A few facts will show at how slow a rate this sentiment has grown to maturity. The practice of hanging in chains had fallen into disuse in England in 1832; but an attempt was made to revive it when the Act for dispensing with the dissection of criminals was passed. A clause was inserted to the effect that the bodies of all prisoners convicted of murder should either be hung in chains or buried under the gallows on which they had been executed, according to the discretion of the court. The pillory was not finally discarded until 1837. Flogging in the army was not discontinued until 1868, and then only in time of peace. It was maintained in time of war until 1881. Both soldiers and sailors were flogged in 1878. In 1879 the House of Commons rejected, by a very large majority, a motion to abolish it in the navy. Although the number of executions decreased from year to year, yet during the first half of the century 2,734 criminals, an average of 54 a year, suffered on the gallows in England and Wales.

Now, at length, we have reached a time when "the tenderness of the law," as well as its wisdom and humanity, may be mentioned without any suspicion of irony. The latest instance of these qualities is remarkable. In its extreme desire to protect accused persons against any possible injustice, Parliament has made them competent, but not compellable, witnesses in their own defence, and thus made it possible for innocence to assert itself by sworn testimony in open court. If we take such a case as that of

Eliza Fenning, convicted in 1815 on evidence that seems not inconsistent with her innocence of poisoning the family in which she lived as domestic servant, and then consider the effect that would probably have been produced if her statement of the facts had been heard from the witness-box, we may readily realize the value of this reform, as well as the need for it.

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## II.—HISTORY OF CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN INDIA.

BY SIR WILLIAM HENRY RATTIGAN, K.T., Q.C., LL.D.

NOR if we turn from the history of crime and punishment in England to that in India, is the gradual triumph of humanitarian principles over the merciless and unreasonable severity of the earlier laws less marked or less satisfactory.

When we obtained the active control of the administration of the province of Bengal from the Mogul Government by a grant of the *Diwani*, we found that in matters of civil right Muhammadans and Hindus were governed respectively by their own personal laws. But in criminal cases the Mogul Government had established the criminal law of the Koranic Code to the exclusion of that of the Hindus. The latter was, perhaps, the milder of the two systems, but it recognised corporal punishment (including the extreme penalty), branding upon the forehead (which rendered the culprit an outcast, abandoned by his family and kindred, finding no pity and receiving no respect), and the imposition of fines. The Muslim law, on the other hand, permitted retaliation for murder, stoning (*rajim*) for sexual immorality on the part of a married man, and scourging (up to one hundred stripes) for a similar offence on the part of an unmarried man or woman, and mutilation for theft. A memorable instance of the latter, so late as the year 1789, is quoted from the *Calcutta Chronicle* in Busteed's "Echoes of Old Calcutta" (p. 138), as having taken place on the Hourah

side of the river near Calcutta. The victims were fourteen dacoits, who had been found guilty by the native *Foujdari* (or Criminal) Court, and the sentence, in strict accordance with Muhammadan law, directed each culprit to have his *right hand and left foot cut off at the joint*. This barbarous punishment was actually permitted to be carried out by our own Government, in a manner which only enhanced the inhumanity of the whole proceeding. The victims were pinioned to the ground in sight of each other; their mouths were tied with bands to prevent or drown their cries; and the amputation, which took about three minutes in each case, was performed with an instrument like a carving-knife. The mutilated limbs were then dipped in hot *ghee*, and the unfortunates who had thus expiated their crime were left to their fate. None, it is added, actually died under the operation, but four died soon after, and some others succumbed under the combined effects of exposure to the sun and neglect.

It was of course impossible for an enlightened Government to continue to recognise the possibility of a repetition of such judicial cruelties, and two years afterwards (*i.e.*, in 1791) imprisonment with hard labour was substituted for mutilation, seven years being the authorized equivalent for the loss of one limb, and fourteen for two. The process of gradually repealing, amending, and supplementing the Muhammadan Criminal Law continued, until, in 1832, it was enacted that non-Muhammadans should not be tried according to Muhammadan law for offences cognizable under the general regulations, but what these offences were it is not easy to ascertain. It was not, however, until 1860 that the application of the Muhammadan Criminal Law in British India was entirely superseded by the introduction of the Indian Penal Code, the monumental work of the Indian Law Commission, of which Lord Macaulay was the most distinguished member.

Of the intermediate attempts to place the administration of the criminal law in India on a satisfactory basis, that of



the Bombay Code, which began with the compilation of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827, was perhaps the most elaborate. But Macaulay criticises these attempts in his letter to Lord Auckland of October 14, 1837, with all the scathing incision of which he was so great a master. It will be sufficient to refer to the instances he adduces from the Bombay Code to show that our English administrators in India had been perpetuating in that country some of the absurd anomalies of the criminal law to which they were accustomed in their own land, and a few of which have been pointed out in the above pages. "The breaking of the window of a house," says Macaulay, "the dashing to pieces a china cup within a house, the riding over a field of grain in hunting, are classed with the crime of arson, and are punishable, incredible as it may appear, with death." Under a system which sanctioned such monstrous disproportion in the punishment of crime, if great cruelty and injustice were not daily perpetrated in the Criminal Courts, it was due solely, as Macaulay rightly says, to the discretion and humanity of the judges. But with the introduction of the Penal Code from January 1, 1862, the administration of criminal law in India was placed on an entirely different footing, and the success which has attended this great branch of codification in one of the most difficult departments of law has clearly manifested the possibility of extending the same process in other departments, an indication which the Indian Legislature has not been slow to utilize, with great benefit to the public, as is evidenced by the series of important enactments passed in the years 1872, 1881, and 1882.

The dark pages in the history of crime and punishment may therefore be said to be closed as well in India as in England. But the phases through which that history has passed are interesting not only to the academical lawyer, but to the student of philosophy. They mark the gradual triumph of the humanitarian spirit over that of archaic severity, and the vindication of a truer sense of proportion

in the estimation of what is right or wrong in the place and prominence we assign to different virtues and vices. The only fear now is that future legislation may not carry this humanitarian spirit too far by placing the criminal in a position of far greater comfort than the blameless poor. Exaggerated compassion is as mischievous in its results as exaggerated severity. Safety lies here, as elsewhere, in steering a straight line in mid-stream, avoiding the rocks and shoals on either bank.

## THE CHINESE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

THE hoary antiquity of the civilization of China is, perhaps, answerable for many things in her dealings with foreign nations. Even now, after the lesson of humiliation taught her by the war with Japan, she has not completely shaken off the trammels of tradition, precedent, and sumptuary laws inseparable from the old-world notion of the sacrosanct character of the head of the State. It has not yet quite been brought home to her conviction that, like ancient Greece and Rome, she can no longer play the rôle of being the radiating centre of culture and civilization in the Far East. Hence her attitude of superiority, contempt, and superciliousness assumed in her relations with foreign Powers. Of course, such an attitude is resented by the assumed parvenu nations of the West, and vigorous efforts have been made to infuse reasonableness, moderation, and justice into the counsels of the Chinese Government. While China's intercourse with other Powers was not so smooth or satisfactory as might have been wished, the bogie of the "Yellow Peril" was presented to the world by the late Mr. Pearson in 1893,\* and was embodied in the famous picture of the German Emperor in 1896. The bogie, however, had too good a start, and made a tour of the Christian world. It could not be overtaken and laid at rest by such thoughtful writers as Lord Curzon, now Viceroy of India, who completely refuted Mr. Pearson's arguments in his "Problems of the Far East" (pp. 396-412). Simultaneously with the discussion of the "Yellow Peril" by the European press, Chinese statesmen began to be confronted by the corresponding bogie of the "White Peril." Chinese history shows that the aggregation and

\* In his work called "National Life and Character."

segregation of States forming the conglomerate entity called the Chinese Empire are the normal law of that empire, and that the average life of a dynasty in China rarely exceeds two centuries. Chinese officials, thinkers, and writers, therefore, imagine that the days of the integrity and independence of their country are numbered. Colour was lent to such a supposition by the scant respect shown to China, as a sovereign international State, by the foreign Powers, and by the policy of grab, initiated by Germany, which seized Kiaochou in 1897. This seizure was followed by the alienation of Port Arthur and Talienwan to Russia, of Wei-hai-wei and the territory near Hong Kong to England, and of Kuangchouwan to France. The Chinese Government, as well as the Chinese people, as a nation, felt these losses severely, because Shantung, where Kiaochou is situated, is the Palestine of China, being the birthplace of Confucius; because Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei are the Gibaltars of Northern China, on whose fortification and armament enormous sums of money have been spent; and because the alienation of territory near Hong Kong and Hainan causes the loss of prestige of the Central Government in the eyes of the people of Kuangtung, which is regarded as the hot-bed of intrigue and rebellion. When Italy demanded the cession of Samun Bay, on the coast of Chechiang, the demand being supported by England, the patience of the Chinese Government had become exhausted, and stringent orders were issued to the provincial authorities to safeguard their territories against foreign aggression.

The state of strained relations between China and the Powers of Europe is primarily due to the treatment accorded to Christian missionaries and their converts. When, as a part compensation for the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung, Germany sent out the "mailed fist," and appropriated Kiaochou, the Chinese became alive to the fact that the apparently harmless teachers of religion, who inculcate peace and goodwill on



earth, are really important factors in the problem of partitioning their country ; and also to the fact that the conversion of Chinese subjects to Christianity is almost tantamount to the creation of an *imperium in imperio*.

The missionary question is a most thorny subject in China, as it is bristling with many difficulties. The greatest difficulty is the right of residence in all the provinces of China, which is not enjoyed by other classes of foreigners. This privilege is due to the unauthorized interpolation of the following clause by a French missionary, who acted as interpreter to the French Mission, into Article VI. in the Convention signed by France and China at Peking in 1860 :

“ It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure.”

Professor Wells Williams, the author of “ The Middle Kingdom,” remarks as follows on the interpolation :\*

“ This sentence is not contained in the French text of the Convention, but as that language is made, in Article III. of the Treaty of Tientsin, the *only* authoritative text, the surreptitious insertion of this important stipulation in the Chinese text makes it void. The procedure was unworthy of a great nation like France, whose army environed Peking when the Convention was signed.”

By virtue of the most favoured nation clause, the right of such residence was also acquired by the missionaries of other countries. It is now no longer a question whether the enjoyment of such a right rests on a legitimate foundation, because the irregularity, if it can be so called, was legitimized in 1894 by M. Gérard, the French Minister at Peking, who secured the formal ratification by the Tsungli Yamen of the Convention of 1865, which contained a reference to the interpolated clause of 1860. In 1871 the Tsungli Yamen made an earnest attempt to solve the missionary question, and presented a statement of sugges-

\* Footnote on p. 362 of “ The Middle Kingdom.”

tions to the Corps Diplomatique at Peking, but nothing practical ever came of it.

The facts related above show clearly that missionaries were, like opium, introduced into China at the point of the bayonet, and not with the full acquiescence of the Chinese Government; that no attempt was made by the foreign Powers to meet the Tsungli Yamen halfway to settle the missionary question; that the Chinese Government was practically denied its sovereign rights in the matter of having any voice in the conversion of its own subjects to Christianity; and that the question whether the Chinese local authorities possessed the requisite machinery for protecting the lives and property of foreign missionaries all over the eighteen provinces of China was never raised or discussed. There is thus little love lost between the missionaries and the Mandarins, because the murder or ill-treatment of a missionary means a demand, backed up by gunboats, for pecuniary compensation, for the punishment of the offenders, for the degradation of the local officials, including the Viceroys\* of provinces, and for the cession of territory. As the treatment of missionaries is a constant source of political complications, it behoves all the Powers interested to settle, once for all, this most difficult question by means of an international Conference, to which representatives of the Chinese Government should be invited. The preponderance of British interests, commercial and political, points to London, the emporium of the world's commerce, as the most suitable place for convening that Conference.

The recent Anglo-German agreement guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China should lay at rest the bogie of the "White Peril," which has much exercised Chinese minds, and the patent fact that the Chinese are rather a commercial and industrial race, ardently devoted to the

\* This would be like demanding by Mr. Kruger the decapitation of Mr. Rhodes and the dismissal of Sir Alfred Milner for the Jameson Raid.

arts of peace, than a nation ready to follow the lead of a Genghis Khan or Tamerlane, should help in burying for ever the phantom of the "Yellow Peril," which exists only in the brain of speculative writers. Love begets love; hatred begets hatred; and it is to be hoped that no more suspicion, mistrust, or dishonesty will enter into the international relations between China and her foreign neighbours.

The present situation in China demonstrates clearly that, as the terror of the "Yellow Peril" is confronted by that of the "White Peril,"<sup>m</sup> so the impotence of Europe finds a counterpart in the inertness of China. The situation as affecting Europe is admirably described as follows by the *Graphic* of October 6, 1900:

"The truth doubtless is, that the Powers are not a little frightened of the crisis. All of them are anxious to get out of it as quickly as possible, but they are afraid to follow the Russian advice and leave the Chinese masters of the field, because they know that such a course would only be the prelude to a fresh and still more serious crisis; and they are also afraid to formulate punitive proposals, because, if they were rejected by China, they would be compelled to coerce her into acquiescing in them, and this would mean just the very undertaking they are most anxious to avoid. It is a curious illustration of the impotence of Europe. The Powers are, perhaps, not so much afraid of the military operations which a new campaign against China would involve, although none of them would enter upon them with a light heart—as they undoubtedly fear the burden of responsibility which victory might bring with it. Were China shaken too roughly, she would assuredly go to pieces, and then the question of partition would arise. Over such a question the Powers would probably quarrel, and this would mean Armageddon; but if they did not quarrel, and partition were arranged, each Power would then find itself confronted by the gigantic task of suddenly taking military and civil charge of a population of about 100,000,000

souls. This is not a prospect which any of them contemplate with equanimity. The embarrassment already caused to Russia by the crisis is shown by the desperate means she has been compelled to resort to, in order to meet the demands made on her Exchequer, to pay the unexpected expenses of the campaign in Manchuria. She is consequently in no hurry to add to her responsibilities. Germany, notwithstanding the Emperor's flamboyant speeches, is scarcely better off than Russia. Her forward policy in China is so unpopular that the Government is unable to raise a loan of £4,000,000 in the country to meet the expenses, and has been obliged to appeal to the American money market. England, happily, has no financial embarrassments, but she is recovering from a great military exertion, and she has her hands full, with a colossal task of domestic reorganization. Hence, she, too, is anxious to keep the Chinese Question within the narrowest possible limits. Even the United States is afraid of it. Add to these puzzling conditions an international atmosphere indurated with jealousy and suspicion, and we need scarcely be surprised, if a solution of the Far Eastern Problem seems far off. The worst of it is, that there is no safety in inaction. The Powers cannot much longer postpone their decision without risk to their own harmony, or without courting a fresh explosion in the Far East, which would inevitably precipitate the very dangers they are anxious to avoid."

It is just as well not to inquire too closely into the past, to let bygones be bygones, to turn over a new leaf, and to devise efficient and satisfactory safeguards for the future. There have been sins of commission and, of omission on both sides, and it would tend to harmony and friendship to erase them from the memory, in order to proclaim to the world that the basis of the teachings of both Christianity and Confucianism is love, forgiveness and charitableness. If this view is accepted, it is scarcely wise to scrutinize the antecedents of the Peace Commissioners appointed by the



Chinese Government. Five Chinese Commissioners have been appointed, viz. :

- (1) Prince Ch'ing ;
- (2) Jung Lu ;
- (3) Li Hung Chang ;
- (4) Liu Kun Yi ;
- (5) Chang Chih Tung ;

the last two being Viceroys of the Yangtzu Valley. The European press, headed by the *Times* newspaper, has objected to the first two, as having been implicated in the Boxer rising, and to the third as being too astute and unreliable a diplomat and a Russophile. As the fourth and fifth could not conveniently leave their posts to attend the Conference at Peking, it follows that the Ministers of the European Concert would have no Chinese Commissioner with whom they could properly open peace negotiations. There is too great a tendency to treat China as a negligible quantity, and to assume that she has lost her sovereign rights, and that she is already under the tutelage of Europe. The sooner such a domineering attitude is discarded, the better it will be for the resuscitation of commerce and the peace of the world.

A *Times* telegram of October 17, 1900, announced that, at a meeting, the foreign representatives agreed on their demands for a basis of negotiations. These include—(1) The punishment of the officials concerned in the massacres ; (2) the payment of an indemnity ; (3) the dismantling of the Taku and other forts ; (4) the establishment of a permanent Legation guard at Peking ; and (5) the abolition of the Tsungli Yamen. All these demands savour of good sense, moderation, and reasonableness. It is by all means necessary that the delinquent officials should be severely punished, that a clear roadway, between Peking and the sea, should be established by the dismantling of the Taku and other forts, and that, for the safety and protection of the Foreign Ministers accredited to Peking, a Legation

guard should be permanently quartered at the Chinese capital. An indemnity should also be demanded ; but care should be taken that the amount is not excessive, as it is necessary to allay irritation and resentment, and as it is a wise policy to forego present for future advantages. Too heavy an indemnity would cripple China for years to come ; whereas her recuperation would benefit not only herself, but also the commerce of other countries. It is hardly wise to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. China is, indeed, potentially a wealthy country, but her resources still await exploitation by organized labour and capital. In the meantime, in order to improve her finances, the foreign Powers should assent to the doubling of the present Customs duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, if the Chinese Government would undertake to abolish *likin*, which has greatly hampered trade all these years. The abolition of the Tsungli Yamen will be hailed as a blessing in diplomatic circles. For obstruction, dilatoriness, and incompetence, it cannot be compared with any other Foreign Office. It is reputed to have killed, through utter physical exhaustion, the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, and to have undermined the health of many other Foreign Ministers. As a buffer for keeping the foreign representatives at arm's length, it has fully accomplished its purpose, and must now be abolished. In lieu of the Tsungli Yamen, it would be highly satisfactory, and be conducive to the despatch of international business, if a Foreign Minister, with a capable and competent Under-Secretary of State, was appointed by the Chinese Government. Public opinion would point to Prince Ch'ing or Li Hung Chang as that Minister, and to Sir Chichen Lofenglut, now Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James, as that Under-Secretary.

What is required is a strong, reformed, and progressive China, with which satisfactory relations could be established by other nations, instead of that inert mass which is a most monstrous anachronism of the nineteenth century ; and foreign commerce and foreign nations will be equally bene-

fited by helping in the carrying out of Chinese reforms. As the foreign Powers are at this juncture primarily interested in the realization of the indemnity demanded, and as the financial condition of a country is always improved by sound methods of administration, it is necessary that the Civil Service of China should be reformed first. The competitive examinations now in vogue should be abolished, and the service should be recruited from the successful candidates trained at a central college established at Peking or Nanking, on the model of the East India Company's College at Haileybury. Each Viceroy should be permitted to nominate about ten candidates a year, and the course of study should extend to at least three years. The members of the service should be graded and adequately paid, and peculation and embezzlement amongst them should be severely punished. Two other reforms should be carried out in order to minimize the possibility of discontent, and riots due to the interference of missionaries with the judicial and social economy of the country. Proper courts, with a well-trained magistracy, should be established; and the methods of eliciting evidence and of dispensing justice should be modelled on Japanese or Western institutions. In the domain of village administration, in order to place all Chinese, both converted and unconverted, upon the same footing, it is necessary that a fixed and periodical tax, according to the means of each family, should be levied, and the proceeds should be paid into a common Village Fund, to be used for municipal purposes, such as education and conservancy, or such other purpose as may be determined by the Village Council of elders. In other words, in evolving a New China out of the Old, financial, judicial, and rural legislation should precede all other reforms.

## AN AFRICAN NAPOLEON.

BY FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

THE career has lately been cut short of a remarkable Arab chieftain, named Rabeh or Rabah, whose extensive conquests for some years exerted a disturbing influence over European relations in the little-known regions around Lake Chad, in Central Africa. In conquering the old State of Bornu, Rabeh had overstepped the paper frontier of what is regarded as the British sphere, lately transferred from the Royal Niger Company to the Imperial Government, whilst his conquests extended over the northern portion of the territory allotted to Germany, and now forming a portion of the Kamerun, or Cameroons, into the French sphere to the eastward.

The career of this Moslem potentate, who earned the title of "the Arab Napoleon," is an interesting one, as we are enabled to piece it together from the fragmentary items which have reached us from time to time from the recesses of the Dark Continent. It was in the Egyptian Sudan, when, under the Khedive Ismail, white rule was first doing something to civilize that region, that Rabeh first came into notice, and we catch occasional glimpses of him in the books dealing with that region. Here his name appears under several variations of spelling, as is usual with African names. Gessi Pasha, who came into personal conflict with him, speaks of him as "Rabi, called Rabeh by the Arabs." Slatin Pasha calls him "Rabeh, or, as I find he is now called, Rabeh Zubeir." Dr. Junker writes the name "Rabay," and lately it has for some reason become the habit to spell it "Rabah." He was formerly a slave of the notorious Zubeir Pasha, whose confidence and favour he won till he became his trusted servant and lieutenant. When Zubeir effected the subjugation of Darfur, Rabeh was sent into the outlying villages to extort the "taxes" from the unwilling inhabitants. When, in 1874, Zubeir went to

Cairo, where he has ever since been detained by the Egyptian Government, Rabeh accompanied Suleiman, Zubeir's son, to Shakka, over which portion of Darfur Suleiman had been appointed ruler. Gordon eventually removed Suleiman from Darfur on suspicion of disloyalty, but afterwards reinstated him, and appointed him Governor of the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

Suleiman was not the man to submit to the curtailment of his slave-raiding expeditions, which had been in the past so profitable to himself and his father. In 1878 he raised the standard of rebellion, and Gessi Pasha was sent by Gordon to suppress him. The full story of this campaign is told in Gessi's book "Seven Years in the Soudan." On January 14, 1879, Gessi defeated Suleiman at Dem Idris, in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and put him and his forces to flight. In this fight Rabeh was in command of a force of 300 of Suleiman's soldiers, and he followed his master in his flight. Gessi, however, was quickly on his heels, and, dispersing his men, captured his tent and harem of 400 women. Suleiman now crossed the frontier into Darfur, and Rabeh, whose force is now put by Gessi at 800 and by Gordon at 700 men, followed. In addition, another lieutenant, Abdulgassim, had 400 men, and Suleiman himself 800 or 900. Gessi had only 275, yet he pluckily followed, and by his confidence evidently deceived Suleiman into thinking his force must be larger.

When Gessi summoned Suleiman to surrender (as Slatin tells us in his "Fire and Sword in the Soudan"), Suleiman and all his chiefs, with the exception of Rabeh, agreed to do so, on the condition that their lives were spared, and that their women and children should not be touched. Rabeh pointed out, with a prescience which subsequent events justified, that Suleiman had been warned before he took up arms of the danger he was incurring, and that, once in the hands of his captors, he could not hope for mercy. As regarded himself, Rabeh declared that it would be pain and grief to him to separate from men who had



been his companions in joy and sorrow all those years, but he gave them distinctly to understand that he would never place himself in the power of Gessi. He proposed either that they should make their submission directly to the Khedive or to Gordon Pasha, or that they should collect their entire force and march westward into the Banda countries, which had hitherto been untouched by foreign intruders, and which could offer no resistance to the thousands of well-armed Bazingers (rifle-bearing blacks) they still had at their command. Once the black tribes had been subjugated, he went on, they could enter into relations with the kingdoms of Wadai, Bagirmi and Bornu, and it was most unlikely that Gessi and his men, who were tired of fighting, would follow them into distant and unknown regions, over which the Government had no control and from which it was not likely it could reap any benefit. Should his proposals not meet with approval, he concluded, he was prepared, with the greatest reluctance, to quit his life-long friends, and, taking those who wished to join him, he would march west and take his chance; but, he added most emphatically, he would never place himself in the hands of Gessi and his Danagla.

After a long discussion, Suleiman and eight of his chiefs decided to accept Gessi's conditions and submit. Rabeh, on the other hand, was supported in his determination by some of the other chiefs. No sooner had Gessi's envoy gone with Suleiman's reply than Rabeh again came to Suleiman, and in the most earnest terms begged him to reconsider the matter. But Suleiman was obdurate, and Rabeh therefore retired heartbroken, beat his war-drums to collect his Bazingers and followers, sorrowfully bade his old companions farewell, and marched off in a south-westerly direction to the sound of the *ombeya*, or elephant's tusk war-horn of the Sudan. Seven of Suleiman's men, seeing that Rabeh was determined not to submit, joined him, preferring the uncertainty of a life of adventure in the pathless forests to the risk of giving themselves up to

the hated Danagla. But the five chiefs who had been his main supporters took the occasion to desert him at his first camping-station, intending to conceal themselves by the help of the Arab chiefs whom they knew, and eventually to make their way back to the Nile when all danger was over.

Suleiman and nine of his chiefs surrendered, and were afterwards shot by Gessi's orders for an alleged plot to escape. Slatin attributes their execution to the base machinations of their deadly enemies, the Danagla. The five chiefs who had left Rabeh were afterwards captured and shot by Messedaglia Bey at El Fasher. Thus, of the entire Zubeir gang Rabeh was the sole survivor. He fled to the Sandeh, or Azande, country. The indomitable Gessi followed him, and wrote, under date December 19, 1879, "I captured them all, so that the country is everywhere rid of them." Unfortunately, the extinction was not as complete as Gessi thought.

Rabeh, however, disappeared for a time. Beyond a rumour which reached Dr. Junker during his travels in that region in 1880 as to the movements of that still powerful and dreaded warrior, we hear little of him for some years. Father Ohrwalder, one of the missionaries taken captive by the Mahdi, relates that Rabeh had a host of adventures and constant fights with the kingdoms of Wadai and Borgo (or Borku), to the north of Wadai. Nor do we know much of his relations with the Mahdi. The Rev. C. H. Robinson, in his "*Hausaland*" (p. 120), states that soon after the capture of Khartum and death of Gordon (January, 1885) Rabeh was sent by the Mahdi to act as Governor of the province of Darfur, and that after a time, fearing lest he should become too powerful, the Mahdi recalled him to Omdurman. But Rabeh, fearing that the Mahdi intended to kill him, refused to obey his summons, and, instead of returning to Omdurman, began to march towards the west with a considerable army of devoted followers whom he had collected around him in Darfur.

Father Ohrwalder says the Khalifa frequently sent messages to him to return to Omdurman, where he would be most honourably received; but Rabeh persistently refused. Osman Wad Adam, when at El Fasher in 1888-89, also communicated with him in the same sense. But Rabeh, who had a shrewd idea of the Khalifa's intentions, summoned to his aid a *fiki* (or religious teacher) who had been in Omdurman, and who quite understood Abdullahi's character. On Rabeh telling the *fiki* of his message from Osman, the *fiki* asked that a cock should be given him, and he proceeded deliberately to pull out the feathers of its wings. He then bound its legs together, and plucked it completely; and last of all he cut off its head. The *fiki* said not a word, but Rabeh thoroughly understood the moral of the proceeding, and came to the wise conclusion not to put himself in the power of the Khalifa. A French traveller in the Sudan—Lieutenant-Colonel Monteil—says that whilst everything Rabeh sent to Omdurman—ivory and slaves—was confiscated, the powder which he wanted was seized by the Mahdi. In consequence, Rabeh found himself cut off, and the power of his bands was dwindling. He then addressed himself successively to the Sultans of Wadai and Bagirmi to ask them to open a route to Kuka (on Lake Chad), in order to obtain provisions. But those rulers refused, fearing to increase the power of their turbulent neighbour, who had already ravaged their richest provinces.

Help came to Rabeh, however, from an unexpected quarter. In 1889 the Khalifa's brother, Mahmud Wad Ahmed, was deported to Darfur, and afterwards ordered to retire to Kordofan. His black soldiers, disliking the change, conspired to kill him and desert back to Darfur; but failing in the attempt on account of the want of ammunition, they deserted from the camp and set off to join Rabeh.

It was, perhaps, the accession of this considerable force that enabled Rabeh to start off on a raiding expedition to

the south-west. Marching first to Dar Fertit, which had already been devastated by Mahdist bands, he invaded the country of the Bandas, and then penetrated that of the Sakkaras, whom he defeated in a great battle on the banks of the Bali, a northern affluent of the Ubangi. The Sakkaras were completely beaten, and their country was devastated, and would have been subjected to the power of Rabeh if the latter had not been stopped in his march to the south by the absolute lack of provisions and other circumstances. When Captain Nilis and Lieutenant de la Kethulle penetrated to this region from the Congo in 1893, they found many evidences of the ravages worked by Rabeh. The number of inhabitants was very small; the Belgian officers sometimes travelled for several days without seeing any villages, and those that they did find contained only a number of very poor huts, the result of the successive invasions of the Mahdists and of Rabeh. Entire districts were ruined and depopulated. The greater part of the vast territory occupied by the Bandas also bore traces of the passage of the savage bands of Rabeh. Not only was the population decimated and the villages destroyed, but some of those who remained of the old inhabitants showed frightful mutilations perpetrated by Rabeh. In many of the villages Captain Nilis met men and women whose noses, ears or hands had been cut off.

Turning then to the north-west, Rabeh crossed the river Kotto in about  $6^{\circ} 30'$  N. latitude, and, entering the basin of the Shari, reached El Kuti, where he attacked and conquered the Sultan El Snussi. El Snussi became his vassal, and gave Rabeh one of his daughters as a wife.

In March, 1891, there arrived at El Kuti a French explorer, Paul Crampel, who was on his way from the Congo to Lake Chad and Algeria in pursuance of the ambitious schemes of the French to extend their dominion over North Africa. He was not very warmly received by the Sultan El Snussi, who, however, gave him permission to travel to the north. But El Snussi must have had his

suspensions of the French designs, for Crampel and his men were massacred. Accounts vary as to this event, some stating that the French explorer was at a table writing, when the men of Snussi approached and struck him on the head with a hatchet; others, that he was led into an ambush and massacred with his men; whilst it was also stated that he and his followers were made prisoners and all his goods seized, and that Crampel and many of his men died of fever. Whichever of these statements is correct, there is apparently little doubt that El Snussi was responsible for their death, but it is not certain how far Rabeh was implicated in it. It appears to have been shortly before this that Rabeh subdued the Sultan of El Kuti, though a French traveller, Lieutenant Mizon, has argued to the contrary (*Annales de Géographie*, iv., 359, 360). We are told, however, that the Sultan presented to Rabeh the 150 Martini rifles and other goods belonging to Crampel's expedition, and Rabeh's subsequent successful march towards Lake Chad is attributed to this material accession to his resources.

Until he had overcome the Sultan of El Kuti, Rabeh had been dealing with negro tribes, which could show little opposition to his firearms. Now, however, he began to direct his attention to the more settled Moslem kingdoms of the Central Sudan, and led his conquering horde against the country of Bagirmi, made known to us by the travels of Barth. Against Bagirmi, we are told (Mockler-Ferryman, "Imperial Africa," i., 355), he had a long-standing grievance. During his sojourn in Dar Fertit and Dar Banda he had found that, owing to his inability to procure ammunition, his followers gradually forsook him, and in order to obtain this necessary he had asked the Sultan of Bagirmi to permit him to pass peacefully through his dominions to Kuka, on Lake Chad. His request was refused, it being feared that he might raise a rebellion in the State, and Rabeh swore to revenge himself when opportunity should offer. The Sultan of Bagirmi at this time



was Mohammed Abdel Rahman Gaurang, son of the Sultan Abdel Kader, who reigned at the time of Barth's visit. On Rabeh's hostile approach, Gaurang appealed for assistance to Sheikh Ashim (or Ahsem) of Kuka, and with some hundreds of his troops took shelter in Mainfa, on the Shari, and fortified that town. His son, whom he had sent to Kuka, arrived there whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Monteil was in the town in the summer of 1892; but Sheikh Ashim did not see that the conquest of Bagirmi might have disastrous consequences for Bornu, and refused the help he was asked. Mainfa and its brave defenders held out against the attacks of Rabeh for five months, till, pressed by hunger and despairing of succour, Gaurang with 150 men made a sudden sortie, crossed the lines of the besiegers, and reached Massenya, his capital. The Sultan of Wadai, who was allied to Gaurang, had sent a column to help him, but this was cut to pieces by Rabeh. The latter, however, probably fearing further resistance in this direction, did not follow Gaurang, but passed on westwards in the direction of Bornu.

Rabeh now found an ally in Hayato, or Ayatu, a rebel son of the Sultan of Sokoto, who had lately founded the State of Belda, in the region between Lake Chad and the Binue, and with whose assistance he now advanced to the conquest of Bornu. Near the frontier of Bagirmi he met a party of the people of Bornu, who, discontented with Ahsem's rule, invited him to invade their country. Rabeh accordingly crossed the frontier towards Logon. Arriving at Logon, he invited the Sultan, Salah, to a conference, seized him and put him in irons, and entered the town—a walled town—without resistance. He made Logon his headquarters, and advanced towards Kuka with 2,000 men.

Bornu was formerly a country of energetic warriors, but wealth had enervated its people. Lieutenant-Colonel Monteil, who visited Kuka in 1892, found the men of Bornu fat and taciturn; they loved women and good living.

Having possessed a rich and fertile soil during a long period of peace, their military qualities had declined, and they were incapable of resisting, in spite of their number, the attack of an enterprising man. On hearing of the approach of Rabeh, Ahsem sent his General, Mohammed Taher, against him with 12,000 men. The two forces met at Jillay, a place between the Logon and Kuka. Taher attacked Rabeh, and was defeated with great loss of life. Ahsem then assembled another army of 50,000 men, and met Rabeh at a place between Jillay and Kuka. This time Rabeh attacked, and the battle, which lasted from 3 p.m. till sunset, resulted in Ahsem's defeat. Ahsem fell back upon Kuka, followed by Rabeh, who, however, halted at N'Gurnu, two hours distant from Kuka, and challenged Ahsem by letter to fight him on the next day near Kuka. Ahsem, on receipt of the challenge, fled to the westward with his followers and several of the Tripolitan merchants. On the following morning Rabeh entered Kuka unopposed. This was in December, 1893.

Ahsem fled to Zinder, but was overtaken there, and another battle was fought, in which, after 3,000 men had fallen, Rabeh was again victorious. Meanwhile Kuka, a town of some 60,000 inhabitants, was given over to pillage, and the country was in confusion. Abbâ Kiari, a nephew of the late Sheikh, got himself recognised as his successor, and, gathering together fresh forces, attacked Rabeh again and again, but was always repulsed. Finally he was captured and beheaded; but his brother Sanlah continued the struggle with Rabeh, fought three battles with him, and retook Kuka, the capital, both combatants suffering severe losses on this occasion. It is evident that Rabeh found the forces too strong for him in this direction, and, being unable to make Kuka his capital, he established himself at Dikwa, near the southern shore of Lake Chad, and some eighty miles south of Kuka. Dikwa is the second largest town in Bornu, having a population of 15,000. It is situated just on the boundary between the English and

German spheres of interest. With a view to assuring a line of retreat towards the south-east, in case he should be menaced by a hostile coalition, Rabeh established garrisons at Gulfei, on the Shari river, and at Kussuri and Logon, on the Logon river.

Kuka had long been known as an important trading centre in the Central Sudan, from which caravans marched periodically across the desert to Tripoli on the north, and through the Fulah States on the west. All this commerce was put a stop to by Rabeh's invasion, as the disorganized and unsafe condition of the country made the Arab and Fulah merchants afraid to travel. Thus, the Rev. C. H. Robinson, who was at Kano towards the end of 1894, found the route from that town to Lake Chad closed, and it was even feared at one time that Rabeh was advancing on Kano itself, though probably he was dissuaded by the fear that the Sultan of Sokoto would be supported by England. On the other side, the Tripoli merchants suffered much at his hands. One Hadj Arfan Turki, who in 1896 arrived at Tripoli from the territory in the power of Rabeh, told Mr. H. S. Cowper the story of his sufferings. The Hadji had for two years been in the power of that adventurer, and returned penniless. Fifty-two Tripoli merchants, he said, had perished by disease or the sword; and he gave some strange accounts of the rule of Rabeh, among whose followers were said to be many cannibals, though Rabeh himself preached Islam and propagated Mahdism. This same merchant describes Rabeh as a tall, spare negro, of between sixty-five and seventy, of simple tastes, and dressing like one of the Dervishes whose cause he espoused, telling everyone to believe in nobody but the Mahdi. He had three sons. The two eldest, Fardalla and Mohamed Nyebba, were in the army; the third was a child.

The fear that Rabeh would attack the great empire of Sokoto caused the British Government in 1894 to send a mission to endeavour to come to an understanding with

him. Great secrecy was manifested in regard to this mission, and it was felt advisable that no Englishman should take part in it. It was placed under the leadership of a pure-blooded Arab Sherif, who was accompanied by a Malam, or Arabic writer, a Sudanese secretary, and a Hausa interpreter and guide, and was provided with a score of Hausas as escort. The mission took costly presents of cloth and silks, velvet and white brocade, to mollify the Arab Napoleon; and, bearing in view the former relations of Rabeh with Zubeir Pasha, the old Governor of the Bahr-el-Ghazal was induced to write a letter to Rabeh, warning him of the dangers of defying the British power, and stating that a friendly understanding with him would be acceptable to the British Government. In October, 1894, the mission ascended the Binue, but met with opposition from the Emir of Adamawa, who had long been unfriendly to the Royal Niger Company, and who would not let the mission pass through his territory. After some months' delay in endeavouring to overcome the Emir's resistance, it was found necessary to make a détour through the country of Bantshi to the northward, and in April, 1895, the party set out overland from the Binue at Ibi. That it subsequently reached Rabeh authentic proof was subsequently obtained, but no reply was ever received. Two members of the mission died, and the others entered into Rabeh's service. Although the mission thus failed to bring about any understanding, it was probably not without effect in demonstrating to Rabeh the inadvisability of coming into opposition with the British.

An Ambassador sent by the Sultan of Turkey in 1898 appears to have met with a more respectful reception. He was received at Dikwa by Rabeh with every mark of profound respect, and it is said that Rabeh accepted the suzerainty of Turkey. This is not the only direction in which the Sultan has recently showed an active policy in Africa, and he would no doubt not be unwilling to fan the

flame of a vast Mahommedan rising against European and Christian extension in Africa.

From time to time reports were received of hostilities in which Rabeh had been engaged, and it was more than once feared that the wealthy emporium of Kano would fall a prey to his rapacity. It was probably owing to this fear, and also of the advance of the French, that the Sultan of Sokoto, after long dallying, decided in 1897 to accept the subsidy offered by the Royal Niger Company. In 1896 Rabeh lost a great number of men in an engagement with the men of Zinder; but turning in the other direction, he in the same year attacked and defeated the Sultan of Mandara (between Lake Chad and the Binue). According to news received about the middle of 1899, however, the Sultan appears to have rallied his forces and to have twice defeated his assailant. Those defeats damaged Rabeh's military prestige; hitherto he had been regarded as invincible. The people of N'Gurnu, notably, who had up to that time been his staunch supporters, became disaffected, and hundreds of his followers and slaves left Bornu, and made their way down the Binue.

When the French explorer M. E. Gentil descended the Shari in his steamer to Lake Chad in 1897, he found Kussuri and Logon in the occupation of Rabeh's garrisons. He was well received by the inhabitants of Gulfei, on the left bank of the river, who looked to him as a liberator. Although they did not commit the least act of hostility, the garrisons which Rabeh had placed in the old western province of Bagirmi thought it prudent to retire, fearing, perhaps, that the French had come to take vengeance for the murder of Crampel. Hardly had Gentil returned to Massenya after his voyage to Lake Chad, when he learned of the reinstallation of Rabeh's troops at Gulfei and Kussuri, where they inflicted unjustifiable reprisals, pillaging the towns and massacring or sending the inhabitants into slavery.

When Gentil left Massenya (November, 1897), Bagirmi



was at peace, so that the commercial mission of MM. de Behagle and Bonnel de Mézières made use of Gentil's steamer, the *Léon Blot*, to found commercial stations in the country. A treaty of protectorate had been concluded with Gaurang, and M. Prinz was left with him as French Resident. But this state of affairs was not to last long, for soon after Rabeh again swooped down on Bagirmi, drove Gaurang from his capital, and devastated the country. Massenya was burnt, and the Sultan retired southwards to the Upper Shari, in the hope of obtaining support from the French posts under MM. de Behagle and Mercuri. For what could Gaurang do with his 400 guns against the 8,000 at the disposal of Rabeh?

By the treaties with Germany and England of 1894 and 1898, Bagirmi was recognised as in the French sphere of influence, and in thus again invading the country Rabeh was risking a conflict with the French Government. This possibility was increased when it became known that M. de Behagle had fallen into the hands of the Arab Napoleon and died in captivity, or, according to some accounts, been put to death by Rabeh's orders. Then came the more serious news of the massacre of the Bretonnet mission, which was on its way from the French Congo to Lake Chad to meet the Foureau-Lamy mission. It appears that the party was attacked in the latter part of July, 1899, Rabeh being himself in command of the assailing force, which was estimated at from 7,000 to 8,000 men. Lieutenant Bretonnet kept up a brave fight against these enormous odds with his small band of Senegalese sharpshooters, until he, Lieutenant Braun, Sergeant Martin and twenty-seven men were killed, and three were wounded and taken prisoners. It was from one of the latter, who managed to escape, that the news of the massacre was received. The brave Frenchmen sold their lives dearly. Rabeh suffered severe loss, his son Niabe (or Nyebba) being seriously wounded, and the flower of his warriors falling.

M. Gentil, the French Commissioner in the Shari district, at once pushed forward a small company of Senegalese, and formed an entrenched post at Gaura, in  $9^{\circ} 42'$  N. latitude; but the French Government naturally showed a reluctance to embark on an expedition to Central Africa—which would be sure to cost much in men and money—in spite of the pressure of the more eager members of the Colonial party. Nor did the English and German Governments show any more disposition to force a conflict with this aggressive warrior, whose conquests extended over the “spheres” which the European Powers had so complacently appropriated. Probably Rabeh knew nothing or cared nothing about these paper divisions of the African continent—at any rate, so long as they were not backed up by force of arms.

Rabeh was no mean enemy. He was evidently a man of great commanding power and military skill. He had collected together an army of some 8,000 to 10,000 cavalry and infantry, armed with guns, besides an innumerable host of spearmen and archers; and report had it that he drilled his soldiers three times a day. The horses were used mainly for transport purposes, the riders fighting on foot. For transport also Rabeh possessed several thousand camels, obtained chiefly through the Shawa Arabs. The guns with which his soldiers were armed were of all sorts, mostly old and useless, and of little value against modern arms, though superior to the weapons of the tribes he had so far warred against. Of rifles he was said to have about 400. He had recently been importing these, concealed in bales of merchandise, by the caravans from Tripoli, the only direction in which this contraband trade was open to him. It was said that he had even received some cannon from this source. It was in obtaining these weapons of precision that he met with his greatest difficulty, and to supply the deficiency of gunpowder and rifles he organized a force of bowmen, who became very effective marksmen. He established armed camps at various strategical points of

his enormous possessions — one at Baggara in order to watch Zinder, and another at Karnak-Logon, on the Logon River, to watch the southern approaches to his dominions; and his spies penetrated the country far and wide.

The French, with their usual suspicion and jealousy, regarded England as conniving at Rabeh's doings, and even such responsible men as Colonel Monteil suggested that English machinations were at the bottom of his attack on the Bretonnet mission. As a matter of fact, our Government never had any relations with Rabeh, the one mission sent six years ago having proved a failure. So long as he kept clear of Kano and the possessions of the Sultan of Sokoto, it was not to our interest to actively concern ourselves with his doings.

With the French, however, the case was different. Not only had Rabeh attacked and defeated a French force, but his conquests interfered with the French designs on Lake Chad, which they were endeavouring to approach from three directions—northward from Algeria, westward from Senegal and the Upper Niger, and southward from the French Congo. Whilst Rabeh remained in power these converging expeditions could not hope to extend their influence around the shores of the coveted lake. It was necessary, therefore, either to abandon their ambitious schemes or to deal with the Arab Napoleon once for all. Accordingly it was decided to attack him, and on October 29, 1899, a crushing defeat was inflicted on him by a French force under Captain Robillot at Kuna, or Koune, a stronghold which Rabeh had defended with 12,000 men. The prestige of the African warrior received an overwhelming shock; he was himself wounded, and retreated to his capital Dikwa, abandoning Bagirmi to the French.

Here for a time he was allowed to rest until the arrival of the Foureau-Lamy expedition, which had traversed the Sahara from Algeria, and the remnants of the Voulet-Chanoine mission from the Upper Niger. The combined forces organized an expedition against Rabeh, under the

command of Major Lamy, and in a severe fight at Kussuri, on the Shari, in which the French commander and Captain de Comtet were killed, Rabeh's troops were dispersed, Rabeh himself was killed, and his head cut off and brought to the French camp by a sharpshooter. This occurred in the early part of 1899. And so ends the active career of the Arab Napoleon, one of the last, perhaps, of the great Arab conquerors whose glory is fading away as the sun of European civilization illumines the hidden recesses of the Dark Continent.

*Information about Rabeh will be found in :*

- "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa," pp. 384-86.  
 Cowper, H. S. : "The Hill of the Graces," pp. 305, 306.  
 Gessi : "Seven Years in the Soudan."  
 Junker : "Travels," ii., p. 124.  
 Mockler-Ferryman : "Imperial Africa," i.  
 Monteil : "De St. Louis à Tripoli par le Lac Tchad," pp. 345, 346.  
 Ohrwalder : "Ten Years' Captivity," 1892, pp. 240, 241.  
 Robinson, Rev. C. H. : "Hausaland," pp. 120, 121.  
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 Vandeleur : "Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger," p. 226.  
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## A CANADIAN VIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

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THE South African War of 1899-1900 evolved out of racial conditions and national considerations far apart from, and long precedent to, the growth of Kimberley and Johannesburg, or the discovery of diamonds and gold. It arose, primarily, out of racial tendencies which grew more and more opposed to each other as the climate and savage environment of South Africa accentuated their peculiarities. History and tradition had early driven into the Dutchman's heart an intense intolerance of religious thought to which the isolation of the veldt added an almost incomprehensible ignorance. A wider survey of the world and a fuller grasp of the essentials of liberty had meanwhile developed in the Englishman's\* mind a love for free religious thought and practice to which his belief in schools and his affection for literature and the press added strength and character. The Dutchman was nomadic in life, pastoral in pursuit, lazy and sluggish in disposition. The Englishman might, at times, be restless in seeking wealth or pleasure, but, upon the whole, he liked to settle down in a permanent home, and with surroundings which he could make his own in ever-increasing comfort and usefulness. He drew the line at no single occupation, and made a good farmer, or artisan, or labourer, or merchant. And he was usually of active mind as well as body.

The Dutchman of South African history wanted liberty to do as he liked and to live as he chose, but he did not wish to accord that liberty to inferior races, or to attempt the training of them in its use and appreciation. The Englishman, on the other hand, loved liberty, and wanted nothing better than to see it applied to others as freely and fully as

\* I use the word Englishman here in a general sense, and inclusive of the Scotchman or Irishman.



to himself. The one race looked upon the negro as only fit to be a human chattel, and as not being even a possible subject for improvement, education, or elevation. The other, in all parts of the world as well as in the Dark Continent, has believed in the humanity of the coloured man, whether black, or red, or brown, and looked upon him as fitted for civilization, for Christianity, and for freedom. He considered him as raw material for the operations of good government and fair play. Both views have been carried to an extreme in South Africa, and upon either side evil has resulted. The Boer treated the native from the standpoint of an intolerant and ignorant slave-owner. The Colonial Office tried to treat him solely from the standpoint of the sympathizing and often ignorant missionary. Hence, in part, the Great Trek of 1836; hence some of the Kaffir raids and consequent sufferings of the early settlers; hence an addition to the steadily-growing racial antagonism.

The principles of government believed in and practised by the Dutch and British in South Africa have been and are diametrically opposed. The one took territory from the natives, wherever and whenever he could, and used it without scruple, and without return in the form of just government, for his own purposes. The latter, time and again, avoided the acquisition of territory; experienced war after war which might have been averted by the prompt extension of authority and strength; gave up regions to native chiefs which had afterwards to be conquered by force of arms; tried every phase of policy in the form of alliances, protectorates, and "buffer" States, in order to avoid increased responsibilities; gave up the Orange Free State to an independent existence under circumstances of almost incredible insistence; annexed the Transvaal with indifference, and gave it up without serious thought; in later days allowed German East Africa to be established, and at one time practically declined the acquisition of Delagoa Bay; permitted the Boers of the Transvaal to

annex part of Zululand and to take almost the whole of Swaziland at the expense, even, of possible injustice to the natives. And all this from an honest though mistaken desire to avoid unnecessary expansion of authority or extension of territory.

In those departments of Government which are apart from questions of acquiring or ruling dependent States there has been the same antagonism. Equality being an unknown principle to the Boer, it was, perhaps, natural that he should endeavour to make his own language and laws and institutions the pivot of administration in any country under his control; that he should regard with suspicion and fear any attempt to raise the status of surrounding natives; and should reject with contempt—in the Transvaal, at least—later efforts on the part of civilized aliens to obtain equality of political rights. The Dutchman in South Africa knew, in earlier days as well as at the present time, absolutely nothing of democracy in the British or American sense of the word. Republicanism in the form of Government by the majority he does not even now understand, unless the majority be Dutch. To dream of convincing, or trying to convince, others by argument and discussion that some particular policy is better than another has always been far from his point of view. He has been too long accustomed to using the shot-gun or whip upon inferior races to deem such a policy either desirable or possible.

The region these two races were destined to dominate was, and is, a splendid one. It has an infinite variety of resource, and tropical production, and temperate growth. Within the million and a half square miles of South African territory is room and verge for a vastly greater white population than has yet touched its shores; while every racial peculiarity or pursuit can find a place in its towns, and farms, and mines, and upon the rolling veldt. To the lover of quiet village life and retirement nothing can be more pleasant than parts of Natal and Cape Colony and of

the two Republics. To the keen business man, eager for gain and intent upon quick returns, the rapid and wealth-producing progress of the great mining towns give all that can be desired. To the adventurous spirit willing to suffer hardships and endure labour in its severest form for a possibly glittering return, the diamond and gold fields offer untold opportunities. To the hunter, and tourist, and traveller the myriad wild animals of the interior have given a pleasure only second to that felt by the Kaffir and the Boer when hunting the lion to his lair or the elephant to its native jungle. To the man fond of country life the vast plains, stretching in varied degrees of value and elevation from Cape Town to the Zambesi, afford room for pastoral occupation and the raising of cattle and sheep upon a veritable thousand hills. To the seeker after new industries, ostrich farming, mohair, the feather industry, and diamond and gold mining have from time to time given the greatest incentive.\* To the farmer or planter, parts of the region are eminently fitted for the raising of wheat and other cereals, and for the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, sugar, and rice. To the restless and wandering Boer South Africa seems, in fact, to have given for a time everything that his spirit desired—isolation, land, wild animals to hunt, independence of control, freedom from the trammels of education and taxation and civilization. To the quieter Dutchman of Cape Colony has been given every element of British liberty and privilege of British equality, as well as land in plenty, and for thirty years at least the pledge of internal peace.

According, also, to the latest figures,\* the national progress and recent position of all these countries has been good. Cape Colony in 1897-98 had a revenue of \$36,940,000, an expenditure of \$34,250,000, and an indebtedness of \$136,400,000; a tonnage of British vessels entered and cleared amounting to 12,137,000, together

\* "British Empire Series," vol. ii. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Limited. London, 1899.

with 2,835 miles of railway and 6,609 miles of telegraph ; exports of \$108,300,000, and imports of \$90,000,000 ; and 132,000 scholars in its schools. Natal and Zululand combined had a revenue of \$11,065,000, an expenditure of \$8,120,000, and an indebtedness of \$38,720,000 ; a tonnage of British vessels entering and clearing of 2,132,000, together with 487 miles of railway and 960 miles of telegraph ; exports of \$8,100,000, and imports of \$30,000,000 ; and 19,222 scholars in its schools. The exports of Basutoland, under purely native control, have grown to \$650,000, and its imports to half a million. The length of railway in the Bechuanaland Protectorate is 586 miles, and in Rhodesia 1,086 miles ; while the telegraph lines of the former region cover 1,856 miles. The South African Republic or Transvaal had in 1897-98 a revenue of \$22,400,000, an expenditure of \$21,970,000, and an indebtedness of \$13,350,000 ; announced imports of \$107,575,000, and no declared exports ; railways of 774 miles in total length, and telegraph lines of 2,000 miles ; and scholars numbering 11,552. The Orange Free State had a revenue of \$2,010,000, an expenditure of \$1,905,000, and an indebtedness of \$200,000 ; imports of \$6,155,000 (chiefly from Cape Colony), and exports of \$8,970,000, which were divided principally between Cape Colony and the Transvaal ; 366 miles of railway, 1,762 miles of telegraph, and 7,390 scholars in its schools. The following table\* gives an easily comprehended view of South Africa as divided amongst its Kaffir, Dutch, and English communities in respect to mode of government and measure of British responsibility :

		Mode of Government.
Three British Colonies	Cape Colony	Responsible Government.
	Natal	
	Bechuanaland	Crown Colony.
Two Republics	South African Republic or Transvaal and Orange Free State	Full internal freedom within terms of Conventions of 1852-54 and 1881-84.

\* "South Africa." By W. Basil Worsfold, M.A. London, 1895.

		Mode of Government.
Native Territories	Basutoland -	Officers under High Commissioner.
	Zululand -	
	Tongaland -	
	Transkei -	Officers under Cape Government.
	Tembuland -	
	Griqualand -	
Territories of the Chartered Company -	Pondoland -	Administrator, who represents the Directors and Secretary of State jointly.
	- - -	

Yet, with all the varied advantages and evidences of substantial progress and prosperity given above, the war broke out, in a result which could not have been different had the whites of South Africa been dwelling amidst limited areas, restricted resources, few liberties, and a crowded population of competitive classes. Some of the reasons for this situation include natural racial differences; a quality which Lord Wolseley described in a speech at the Authors' Club on November 6, 1899, when he declared that, "of all the ignorant people in the world that I have ever been brought into contact with, I will back the Boers of South Africa as the most ignorant"; the inherent desire of the Dutch population for native slave labour and intense aversion to principles of racial equality; mistakes of administration and more important errors of judgment in territorial matters made by the British Colonial Office; a Dutch pride of race, born from isolation, ignorance, and prejudice, and developed by various influences into an aggressive passion for national expansion, and a vigorous determination to ultimately overwhelm the hated Englishman, as well as the despised Kaffir, and to thus dominate South Africa.

Of the elements entering into this last and perhaps most important evolution, the Afrikaner Bund has been the chief. The formation of this organization really marks an epoch in South African history, and has proved in the end to be one of the most effective and potent forces in the creation of the present situation. Nominally, it was organized in 1880 amongst the Dutch farmers of Cape Colony



for the purpose of promoting agricultural improvement and co-operation, and for the increase of their influence in public business and Government. In 1883 it swallowed up the Farmers' Protective Association, also a Dutch organization. Practically, it was a product of the feeling of racial pride which developed in the heart and mind of every Boer in South Africa as a result of Majuba Hill and the surrender of 1881. The openly-asserted influence of their Transvaal brethren and of this triumph had prevailed with the Cape Boers to such an extent that the latter were able to compel the rejection of Lord Carnarvon's federation scheme, although they did not at the time possess a large vote in the Cape Legislature or a single member in the Government. The same influence created a desire for racial organization, and the result was the Afrikaner Bund.

Its chief individual and local promoter was Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, a man whose record is one of a loyalty to the British Crown, which seems in some peculiar fashion to have equalled his loyalty to his race. In the beginning of the Bund, and during its earlier years, he could easily harmonize the two principles. How he could do so at a later period is one of the puzzles of history and of personal character. Incidentally it may be said that Mr. Hofmeyr attended the Colonial Conference of 1887 in London, and contributed to its proceedings the then novel proposition that each part of the Empire should levy a certain duty upon foreign products above that imposed upon goods produced in and exported from British dominions, and that the proceeds should be devoted to the maintenance and improvement of the British Navy. He also attended the Colonial Conference at Ottawa in 1894, and had consequently received all the knowledge of Imperial development and power which travel, and experience, and association with the rulers of its various countries could afford. He has since 1881 always declined office at the Cape, and it is, therefore, apparent that the solution of the personal problem must in his case be left to the future.

From the first the Bund was looked upon with suspicion by not only English politicians in the Colony, but by a few of the more sober and statesmanlike leaders amongst the Dutch. They were, however, won over as time passed, except the President of the Orange Free State. Sir John Brand—he had been five times elected President and had accepted knighthood from the Queen as an evidence of his British sympathies—absolutely refused to have anything to do with it. "I entertain," said he, "grave doubts as to whether the path the Afrikander Bund has adopted is calculated to lead to that union and fraternization which is so indispensable for the bright future of South Africa. According to my conception, the institution of the Bund appears to be desirous of exalting itself above the established Government and forming an *imperium in imperio*." But, wise and far-seeing as were these views, the Free State President could not hold back his own people from sharing in the movement. Mr. F. W. Reitz, then a Judge at Bloemfontein, afterwards President in succession to Sir John Brand, and finally State Secretary of the Transvaal under President Kruger, joined enthusiastically in its organization, and soon had many branches in the Free State itself.

Of this period in the history of the Bund Mr. Theodore Schreiner, son of a German missionary, brother of the Cape Premier and of Olive Schreiner (the bitter anti-British writer), has described an interesting and now well-known incident in the *Cape Times*. He says that in 1882 Mr. Reitz earnestly endeavoured to persuade him to join the organization, and that the conversation which took place upon his final refusal was so striking as to indelibly convince him that, in the mind of Reitz and of other Dutch leaders, it constituted even then a distinct and matured plot for the driving of British authority out of South Africa. "During the seventeen years that have elapsed," says Mr. Schreiner, "I have watched the propaganda for the overthrow of British power in South Africa being ceaselessly spread by

every possible means—the press, the pulpit, the platform, the schools, the colleges, the Legislature—until it has culminated in the present war, of which Mr. Reitz and his co-workers are the origin and the cause. Believe me, sir, the day on which F. W. Reitz sat down to pen his ultimatum to Great Britain was the proudest and happiest moment of his life, and one which has for long years been looked forward to by him with eager longing and expectation.”

Branches of the Bund within a few years were established all over Cape Colony and the Free State, and by 1888 the slow-moving mind of the Cape Dutch had grasped the racial idea thus presented with sufficient popular strength to warrant the holding of a large and general Congress. In his opening address the President spoke of a “united South Africa under the British flag,” but at the meeting held on March 4, 1889, at Middelburg, while much was said about the future Afrikaner union, references to Britain and the flag were conveniently omitted. The platform, as finally and formally enunciated at this gathering included the following paragraphs :

“1. The Afrikaner National Party acknowledge the guidance of Providence in the affairs of both lands and peoples.

“2. They include under the guidance of Providence the formation of a *pure nationality*, and the preparation of our people for the establishment of a United South Africa.

“3. To this they consider belong :

“(a) The establishment of a firm union between all the different European nationalities in South Africa ;

“(b) The promotion of South Africa's independence.”

There was also a clause of gratuitous impertinence towards the Imperial country, through whose grant of absolute self-government in 1872 the Bund was now able to aim with practical effort at the racial control of the Colony, in the declaration that “outside interference with the domestic concerns of South Africa shall be opposed.” Under the general principles of the platform these “domestic concerns” meant, of course, the relation of the different States

toward each other, and the growing rivalry of Dutch and English in matters of Colonial Government, as well as the old-time question of native control, and the newer one of territorial extension on the part of Cape Colony. So long as President Brand lived and ruled at Bloemfontein there remained, however, some check upon the Bund, as well as upon President Kruger. If he had opposed the Bund actively, as he certainly did in a passive and deprecatory sense, the result might have been a serious hindrance to its progress.

Brand's policy was to, indirectly and quietly, keep the Cape Colony and the Free State in harmonious and gradually closer co-operation, instead of promoting the closer relations with the Transvaal which was one of the ideals of the Bund leaders. He refused to accept Kruger's proposal of isolating the two Republics from the British possessions, and thus promoting the policy which, without doubt, had since 1881 been shaping itself in the latter's mind. But, in 1888 Sir John Brand died, and was succeeded by Mr. F. W. Reitz. The influence of the new regime became at once visible in the platform above quoted, and in the whole succeeding policy of the Free State. It now assumed a more and more intimate alliance with the Transvaal, and frequently during these years the question of a union of the two countries was discussed. In 1896 Reitz resigned, and accepted the State Secretaryship of the Transvaal, a position analogous in personal power, though not in the matter of responsibility to the people, with that of a Colonial Premier. Mr. M. T. Steyn became President of the Free State, and the triumvirate of Kruger, Steyn and Reitz formed, with men like Mr. J. W. Sauer in the Cape Afrikaner Bund and Parliament, a very strong Dutch combination. Just where Mr. Hofmeyr stood it is hard to say now; but the probabilities are that, with Sir J. H. de Villiers, the Dutch Chief Justice of Cape Colony, he was really outside of the plots and schemes of these leaders.

Meanwhile, Mr. Cecil Rhodes had come to the front in mining, in speculation, in wealth, in financial organization, in politics, and in a great policy of Empire expansion. He had studied South Africa, from the Cape to the Zambesi, as few or no Englishmen have ever been able to do. He understood its Governments, its peoples and its racial complexities with the innate thoroughness of genius or of a woman's intuition. To him the looming menace of the Afrikaner Bund was as clear as it had been to President Brand, and, from the time when he entered the Cape Parliament in 1880, and became Premier in 1890, until his retirement from the latter post in 1895, his whole heart and ambition was devoted to preventing Dutch expansion, and to checkmating the new Dutch organization with its clever manipulators at Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Cape Town. To this end he founded the famous British South Africa Company, and, by acquiring control over the vast areas of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, effectually checked Dutch expansion to the north of the Transvaal. With this in view, he urged upon British statesmen the annexation of Bechuanaland, a huge strip of country to the west of the same Republic, and supported with his influence the annexation of Zululand on the south-east coast, into which many Boers had trekked, and for the possession of which they had an intense ambition, as opening the way to the sea. His reasons seldom appeared on the surface, and some of them were not fully comprehended in South Africa itself until long after the accomplishment of his object. But there is no doubt that as Mr. Rhodes' power at the Cape became felt, as the great interests of the Chartered Company grew more manifest in their importance to the Empire, and as the wealth and ability of its Chairman became a factor in London as well as in the Colony, so also his influence at the Colonial Office was enhanced.

At the same time he developed this line of action for many years in conjunction with a policy of public conciliation toward the Dutch everywhere. If, eventually, a system



of kindly co-operation could be evolved, and the principles of the Afrikaner Bund rendered comparatively harmless by the winning over of its strongest men at the Cape to his side, and to the continuous expansion of British power in the common interest of a united South Africa, so much the better. If he failed in this he did not, however, propose that the Empire should some day find itself face to face with the problem of a thin line of English settlement—mixed with Dutch—along the sea-coast in rivalry or conflict with a united Afrikaner nation holding all the keys of the interior to the north, and stretching from the Delagoa region on the east to the German possessions on the west. Hence his continuous acquisition of territory, and hence the recent position of the two Republics surrounded by British soil, except for the small strip of Portuguese possessions to the east of the Transvaal. Hence, also, his hope that as British power grew in South Africa the Bund would eventually see the futility of its effort to make the whole country a Dutch republic, and would meet his policy of conciliation at least half way.

Between 1890 and 1895, when the Jameson Raid and his resignation of the Premiership took place, Mr. Rhodes' speeches teemed with expressions of friendliness toward the Dutch, of appreciation of their rights in South Africa, of sympathy with all legitimate aspirations, of appeals for co-operation. In his Ministry, from time to time, he managed to include leaders of the Bund, such as W. P. Schreiner, J. W. Sauer, T. N. G. Te Water, and so prominent a Boer supporter of later days as J. X. Merri-man. But it seems to have become gradually apparent to his mind that conciliation was practically useless; that the influence and power of the Afrikaner movement was daily growing stronger; that Kruger had become too great a force with the Dutch of the Cape for him to be checkmated by friendly demonstrations or appeals; and that the oppression of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal was a growing evidence of Boer unity and arrogance, just as the increasing

electoral strength of the Cape Boers was a proof of their developing power. And, above all, he was aware that while this web of inter-state Dutch conspiracy was building up the Afrikander Bund into a great anti-British force, England was profoundly ignorant of the whole matter, and was resting in the belief, expressed by passing travellers, and presented by the usual number of superficial political theorists, that the Dutch and English of South Africa were not only dwelling together in amity, but were developing increased sympathy, and that the Uitlander trouble, of which vague reports were beginning to reach the British public, was more or less the creation of a transition period of development, and would soon settle itself.

To meet the dulled vision of the British people, to settle the Transvaal issue without war between the Republic and the Empire, to play with President Kruger at his own game, and overthrow him by an internal rebellion, Rhodes approved the general idea of the Jameson Raid, and of external assistance to the people of Johannesburg. The policy was carried out rashly and prematurely by his deputy; the Uitlanders were not ready, and did not redeem their promises; it failed, and he had to retire from office. But one important result was achieved. The eyes of the British public were in some measure opened to the seriousness of the situation in South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain and the members of the Imperial Ministry no doubt knew something already of the general position from private advices—if in no other way—and it was for this reason that they practically stood by Mr. Rhodes when the Raid came before a Parliamentary Committee for investigation. They had not, of course, known of the Raid itself, or supported its aggressive action. The code of honour, personal and political, is too high amongst British statesmen to permit of anyone but a sensational journalist or an unusually violent partisan accepting such a supposition for a moment. But they did understand the motive, and were not prepared to punish the self-confessed originator; although obliged to

allow the legal punishment of the active participators. Mr. Rhodes could not defend himself, and Mr. Chamberlain could not publicly support him in connection with the matter without avowing their belief in the disloyalty of a portion of the population of Cape Colony, and their knowledge of a secret conspiracy shared in by the chiefs of two nominally friendly Republics. The former would have involved the making of unwise charges which, in the nature of things, could hardly have been proved, and if proved would have done more harm than good; the latter would have meant a war, which it might still be possible to avert.

Mr. Hofmeyr, the nominal leader of the Bund in Cape Colony, might at almost any time during recent years have become Premier, and through his reputation for moderate views might, perhaps, have done good service to the cause of compromise and conciliation. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether he could have really succeeded in this respect when Mr. Rhodes, between 1890 and 1895, failed. The latter did everything that man could do to hold the racial elements together and checkmate the Kruger influence, and it seems probable that Hofmeyr could not in the end have resisted the power of Pretoria over the Afrikaners any more effectively than did Mr. W. P. Schreiner in the two years preceding the outbreak of war. His Ministry would have been a Bund Government just as that of Schreiner was; his principal co-workers would have been instruments of Kruger in much the same degree as members of the Schreiner Cabinet have been; and his participation in the general Afrikaner movement, or conspiracy, or whatever it may be called, would have been more dangerous than that of Mr. Schreiner, because his loyalty has always appeared conspicuous, and would have been used, perhaps unconsciously to himself, as a cloak for the action of his colleagues and friends. In 1898, however, Mr. Schreiner took office; the Bund was triumphant at the polls in Cape Colony and in Parliament; and had a weak Government

or vacillating Colonial Secretary been in power in London, Mr. Kruger's day would have indeed come.

He undoubtedly built upon this latter possibility and upon his personal experiences of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Kimberley, and Lord Derby during the Convention days of 1881 and 1884. To demand, even in the days of Transvaal weakness, had been to receive, and now with the Uitlander population under the heels of an iron-clad law, and of enactments allowing them less liberty than was given the Kaffir; with great guns guarding Pretoria and commanding Johannesburg, coupled with the consciousness of other and more extensive military preparations; with the policy of the Imperial Government hampered by the rash aggressiveness of the Jameson Raid; with the Orange Free State in close defensive and offensive alliance, and its President a mere tool in his own hands; with clever advisers and unscrupulous helpers, such as Reitz and Leyds; with the certainty of European sympathy, the expectation of American support, and the hope of active interposition on the part of France, or Russia, or Germany; with the Cape Colonial Government in partial sympathy with his aims, and in occasional active support of his policy; with the assurance of an extensive support from the Boers of the Colony itself, it is not surprising that President Kruger entered the lists at the Bloemfontein Conference with great confidence, and ultimately faced the might of Britain with assurance that the possible weakness of a British Ministry, the power of a European combination, the interposition of the United States, or some other providential aid, would secure the abrogation of that British suzerainty which was the bane of his public life and the chief apparent element in preventing the supremacy in South Africa of the Dutch race in general and the Transvaal Republic in particular.

But he knew not Mr. Chamberlain or the changed conditions of British thought. He did not realize that the days of indifference to the Colonies had passed away, and

that the Colonial Office had become one of the greatest posts in the British Government, and had been deliberately selected by one of the most ambitious and astute of modern statesmen as a suitable field for achievement and labour. He had no idea that the retention and extension of British territory was no longer a party question, and that the days of Lord Granville at the Foreign Office had as completely passed away as had those of Lord Derby at the Colonial Office. His very knowledge of British political life and its see-saw system was turned into a source of error through the rapid developments of an epoch-making decade. It must have been a shock to him to find that an insult to the Imperial Government in the form of his ultimatum was looked upon as an insult to a dozen other British Governments throughout the world, and that the invasion of the soil of Natal and Cape Colony was regarded as an assault upon the interests of Canada and Australia as well as of Great Britain. The days of weakness had indeed departed, and despite all the conciliatory slowness and caution of Mr. Chamberlain during weary months of controversy the iron hand was concealed beneath the glove of velvet, and there was nowhere a thought of surrendering the right of suzerainty which has preserved and insured British supremacy in South Africa. The inevitable war ensued, a struggle which the Gladstone Government shrank from in days when the Boer power was weak, and which Sir George Grey spoke of in its wider sense when he declared in 1858, after the abandonment of the Orange River State, that "many questions might arise in which it might be very doubtful which of the two Governments the great mass of the Dutch population (in Cape Colony) would obey."

The more immediate cause of the war was not the chief reason, though, of course, the most prominent and pronounced. The position of the Uitlander was bad enough, and the facts which have been drilled into the public mind and explained in the despatches of Mr. Chamberlain and



Sir Alfred Milner were sufficiently explicit. From 1895 the hundred thousand aliens, chiefly British subjects, established in Johannesburg and at the mines were subjected to every restriction of liberty which is conceivably possible. None of the rights of self-government pledged in the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 were given them or rendered possible in any succeeding period worthy of consideration. The press was gagged and public discussion prevented, the courts made subservient to the Boer Volksraad, and the money raised in taxes applied upon armaments directed against Great Britain and the Uitlander. No attention was paid to industrial development or financial security, and the drink traffic amongst the natives was openly encouraged. No protection was given to individual Englishmen and their families by the Boer police, and education was made a matter of Dutch language and Dutch methods; Roman Catholics were excluded from even the faintest chance of obtaining the franchise, and monopolies were publicly sold to Hollander favourites and adventurers. Heavier and heavier burdens of taxes were laid upon the Uitlanders—poll-tax, railway-tax, road-tax, miner's claims, digger's license, prospector's license. An enactment made in 1894, in addition to the five years' residence required of adult aliens, declared that the children of such, though born in the Transvaal, must wait fourteen years after making claim for the right to vote. The respectable educated Hindoo merchants were classed with and treated with the same contempt as the indentured coolies. These things were surely cause enough for Mr. Chamberlain's intervention, and more than cause for his sustained effort to obtain equal rights for British subjects.

Nominally, the failure to obtain those rights and liberties for the Uitlander was the cause of the condition out of which war came. Practically, as already stated, the cause was in the distant past, in the character of the Boer, the development of his peculiar history, the British mistakes of 1836, 1852, and 1877, the aggressive Dutch pride of

recent years, the historical hatred of the English, the growth of military resources in the Transvaal, the evolution of the Afrikaner Bund, the determination to create a Dutch South Africa. The means for success, even to the most utterly ignorant and intensely vain Dutchman, were not apparent until the gold mines of the Witwatersrand paved the way, and the revenue of the little State rose in the progressive ratio from \$889,000 in 1885—the year preceding the discoveries—to over \$24,000,000 in the year 1897:

1886 ... ..	\$1,902,165	1892 ... ..	\$6,279,145
1887 ... ..	3,342,175	1893 ... ..	8,513,420
1888 ... ..	4,422,200	1894 ... ..	11,238,640
1889 ... ..	7,887,225	1895 ... ..	17,699,775
1890 ... ..	6,145,300	1896 ... ..	22,660,970
1891 ... ..	4,835,955	1897 ... ..	24,432,495

For an assumed Boer population of little more than 200,000 the expenditure of this large sum would have been difficult under ordinary and honest conditions of government. Nothing practically was expended upon the Uitlanders, from whom the revenue came, and nothing upon the 800,000 Kaffirs in the country. Nothing was spent upon the development of national resources, and but little upon the extension of railways, etc. Of this \$120,000,000, in round numbers, it might be fair to allow \$3,000,000 per annum for ordinary purposes of administration and development during the twelve years, or one million per annum more than was spent by the Free State in any year of the same period. It would then be reasonably safe to assume that the remaining \$84,000,000 and the acquired indebtedness of \$13,000,000 was spent upon fortifications, armament, subsidies to foreign papers and politicians, and salaries to Hollander adventurers. It is in this connection a curious fact that the imports to the Transvaal in 1898 were over a hundred million dollars in value, with no recorded exports except gold, of which the production in 1897 was over \$85,000,000. These imports must have consisted very largely of ammunition and

military supplies, as the Boers were not a people who used extraneous products or luxuries. Of course, the Uitlanders were responsible for a portion of it, but the great bulk must have been made up of articles very different from the usual commodities of peaceful commerce. Such was the state of affairs, in a brief summary, which appear to have led up to the diplomatic clash between Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger, to the negotiations conducted by Sir Alfred Milner and the two Presidents, to the invasion of the British Colonies on October 11, 1899, and to the war of that and the succeeding year.

## THE CONGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

HELD IN PARIS, SEPTEMBER 3-8, 1900.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

THE Congress on the History of Religions, which numbered 334 registered members, held its opening sitting on Monday, September 3, at the Palais des Congrès in the Exhibition. About a hundred members were present at the inauguration. The President of the Organizing Committee, M. Albert Réville, was the first to speak, by reminding the Congress of its origin. On his proposal, Messrs. Max Müller and Tiele, both of whom were absent through illness, were elected Honorary Presidents. The Assembly elected M. Albert Réville President, and Messrs. de Gubernatis, Goldziher, Goblet d'Alviella, Carpenter, and E. Naville, Vice-Presidents.

M. ALBERT RÉVILLE, in his opening speech, took for his subject the character and aim of the History of Religions. In order to explain these, he referred to the nature of man. The human being, he said, was impelled by two motive-powers—life and happiness. In all races happiness is held to be the intensification of life. The result of this conception is, in its highest state, the search after beauty, truth, the intellectual, and the Divine. It is to be, moreover, observed that, without being unmindful of the supremacy of the law of duty, the intensification of life manifests itself also in pure pleasure (musical enjoyment, the dramatic art, etc.). This intensification of life historically presents in the picture of the past the representation of the great drama of humanity in quest of happiness. This extensive work of history specializes itself in a great number of ways, one of which is the History of Religions.

The origin of the History of Religions is very meagre. Before our time, little was to be found in researches of the kind, except weapons for protecting the true from the false religion; hence, the History of Religions became an arsenal of polemics and apologetics. Nowadays, when everything in the world of science, art, etc., has extended and advanced, the History of Religions has become a real science, and has reached its full development. It is in this way we have been enabled to study the very astonishing fact of human life—religion. This study would not have been complete without a knowledge of general culture and the languages of the East.

The History of Religions has had to contend with many obstacles. It has been reproached with favouring irreligion, and of attributing importance to false religions. In the eighteenth century, and later, it was even considered that religion was unworthy of any study. M. Albert Réville pointed out that at the time of his appointment to the Collège de France someone asked him whether the subject of his teaching would not be exhausted in three or four years' time. On the other hand, what made

the eminent Professor uneasy was the thought of never being able to go through the whole subject of the History of Religions.

The History of Religions has justified its existence. It has restored religion itself to the minds of a superior class of men who had regarded it either with suspicion or contempt. "We are," said the lecturer in conclusion, "for the greater part, hard-working students, but, nevertheless, we extract a precious metal from the soil. Our Congress will not cause much stir, but we shall not be weary of throwing light upon our work, more light, and still more light. We must not forget that disinterested research of truth is one form of love for God."

Warm applause greeted the principal passages of his speech, which impressed the audience by its earnestness and loftiness of style.

Professor BONET-MAURY, delegate of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, then welcomed the members of the Congress. After explaining the purely historical object of the Congress, he compared it with the Parliament of Religions of Chicago in 1893, and with the Religious Congress of Stockholm in 1897.

After Professor Bonet-Maury, the following successively spoke: Mr. Carus, editor of *The Monist* and *The Open Court*, and the official delegate of the United States; Mr. Fries, Swedish delegate; and Professor Dr. Montet, on the part of the University of Geneva. The last named recalled the fact that the first Professorship of the History of Religions was founded at Geneva.

The opening meeting terminated with the reading of a long and interesting letter from Professor Max Müller, as also other communications from Messrs. Tiele, Tyler, Ryss, Prince Roland Bonaparte, etc., expressing regret at being unable to take part in the Congress.

The Congress was exclusively of a historical and scientific character, and its proceedings were divided into eight sections. The number of members present at the sittings ranged from 150 to 200. The most popular and interesting sections were those of Semitic Religions and Christianity. The following is the exact division of the different sections: (1) Non-civilized Religions, Religions of pre-Columbian Civilizations in America; (2) History of the Religions of the Far East (China, Japan, Indo-China, Mongolia, Finnish); (3) History of the Religions of Egypt; (4) History of the so-called Semitic Religions; (a) Assyro-Chaldean, early Asia, (b) Judaism, Islamism; (5) History of the Religions of India and Iran; (6) History of the Religions of Greece and Rome; (7) Religions of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs, Prehistorical Archaeology of Europe; (8) History of Christianity (subdivided into the Early Centuries, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times).

In the private sittings of the sections numerous works of merit were introduced. We give some of the more remarkable in alphabetical order\*:

\* We do not pretend to be complete. It would need, in other respects, to possess the gift of ubiquity in order to hear, in the several sections, all the valuable papers. The authors whose works we do not mention will excuse us, the more so as we have had to take the chair more than once in the Semitic Section.



M. ALPHANDÉRY, who instituted an inquiry into traces of a popular Averroism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

M. ARAKELIAN, in a treatise on Babiism in Persia, endeavoured to show in the Babi movement a reformation in Islam.

Mr. AUDOLLENT tendered some interesting notes relating to the survival of Pagan ideas in the Latin literature of Christian Africa.

Mr. BERGER traced, according to the cuneiform tablets of El-Amarna, the political and social state of Palestine at the period of its invasion by the Jews.

Mr. CAPART read a very important account of the "Feast of hitting the Anu," which takes us back to the period previous to the first Egyptian dynasties.

M. CHAVANNES discoursed on the Ground-god and the ancestral temple in the ancient Chinese religion.

Mr. CONYBEARE demonstrated, in a memoir of great interest, the traces of paganism preserved in the old Armenian liturgies, etc.

M. CUMONT treated of Zeus Stratios of Mithridates.

M. DE FAYE explained the Christology of the Greek apologists of the second century in its relation to Greek religious philosophy.

Mr. FRIES upheld a new theory on the idea of Jesus with regard to the resurrection of the dead.

Dr. GARNAUT's communication on ventriloquism, necromancy, inspiration, evocation, and prophecy, gave rise to strong protests. The author, in an excessive generalization, and who appears to see nothing in prophecy but a religious form of ventriloquism, was nevertheless very interesting, on account of the deep studies which he had made on the phenomenon of ventriloquism, and his dealing with antiquity. Dr. Garnaut, who should have given to his work the more appropriate title of "The Language of the Living and the Dead," seems to me to have strongly established that primitive prophecy (the raising up of the shadow of Samuel, 1 Samuel xxviii., practices relative to the אֵלֹהִים, etc.) rests on the phenomenon and art of ventriloquism.\*

M. HUART introduced an extremely interesting work on the variations of certain dogmas (the Creation, future life, etc.) of Islamism during the first three centuries of the Hijra.

The Rabbi KLEIN, of Stockholm, in a long and very erudite memoir, dealt with the influence exercised by Essenism on primitive Christianity. According to this savant, the ancient name of God among the Essenes, אֱלֹהֵינוּ (אֱלֹהֵי, and I; אֱלֹהֵי, and he), became the formula likewise of the inner thoughts of Jesus, as is expressed in the fourth Gospel: "My Father and I, We are One" (John x. 30). In this respect the author of the work has made a curious observation. The treble repetition of the word אֱלֹהֵינוּ, to which certain passages of the Old Testament allude, and where the

\* See the articles on this subject published in 1900 in the *Revue Scientifique* by Dr. Garnaut. Amongst some extraordinary assertions, there will be found some very serious arguments in favour of the main thesis which we have alluded to.

origin of the Christian Trinity should be sought, possesses the same numerical value—viz., seventy-eight—as in the group of words, אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה :

$$\begin{array}{r} \aleph = 10 \\ \eta = 5 \\ \beth = 6 \\ \eta = 5 \\ \hline 26 \times 3 = 78 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \aleph = 1 \quad \beth = 6 \\ \beth = 50 \quad \eta = 5 \\ \beth = 10 \quad \beth = 6 \\ \hline 61 \quad 17 \\ 61 + 17 = 78 \end{array}$$

It is, nevertheless, permissible to ask one's self to what degree did the proceedings of Gematrië, dear to subsequent Rabbinism, influence either Essenism or primitive Christianity.

The Countess MARTINENGO CESARESCO, in a work on the Hebrew conception of animals, has demonstrated that the Old Testament comprehended animal nature upon the model of human nature.

M. OLTRAMARE, Professor of the History of Religions in the Geneva University, in a paper which raised an interesting discussion, discoursed on Evolution applied to the History of Religions by giving conspicuity to the extravagancy of the theory of Evolution and its dangers in the religious scientific world.

Mr. PIEPENBRING explained the fundamental principles of the teaching of Jesus.

Mr. PINCHES, in a most remarkable and very interesting work, introduced a series of remarks giving us a deeper insight into the religion of the Babylonians 2,000 years before Jesus Christ.

A short account was read of a memoir, sent by Mr. PRICE, on the pantheon of the time of Gudéa.

M. JEAN RÉVILLE spoke of the testimony of "Pasteur d'Hermas" as to the state of the Christian community in Rome between the years 125 and 140, and showed the importance of this text as regards the history of the origin of the episcopacy.

M. N. SCHMIDT made a communication, full of interest, on the gods of Yemen. He supports the thesis that יְהוָה is the Semitic god of the tempest, and that the Elohim represents the souls of ancestors.

M. TOUTAIN made several observations on the interpretation of Mithriac bas-reliefs, and the series of creeds on Mt. Grand St. Bernard.

M. VERNES spoke of the sanctuaries of the Canaanite region, which were frequented together with the Israelites.

Finally, M. DE ZMIGRODSKI showed in the form of an immense picture, which was fixed upon the wall of the first section, a history of the primitive religion of the sun and fire. Without doubt, the theories advocated by the author are open to controversy, but the picture he has drawn and delineated is of great interest, owing to the grouping he has made from documents and monuments of every period and every country.

There were four general sittings. In the first were heard successively Messrs. Senart, Sabatier, and Jean Réville.

In an able lecture, written in a scholarly style, M. SENART spoke of

Buddhism and of the Yoga. The subject was indeed peculiar for a general public meeting, and to have been fully appreciated it required the audience to have been up to date on the subject of the religions of India, so as to have enabled them to follow the lecturer. But apart from this, M. Senart's memoir was in every respect deserving of an attentive hearing. The author proved that the philosophic system of Buddhism rested on the Yoga—that is to say, on Indian philosophical speculation, which possessed a far more practical character than other theories current in India, in a speculative way, previous to Gautama.

M. SABATIER read a very exhaustive and luminous explanation of Biblical criticism and the science of the History of Religions. He illustrated how the first has prepared the way for the second. Biblical criticism, he said, initiated the History of Religions, firstly, by the strictly methodical manner in which it has been inaugurated and followed; secondly, by the results which have been obtained (Hexateuch, apocalyptic literature, Daniel and the Apocalypse of John, origin of the four Gospels, Paulinian Christianity and Judeo-Christianity); thirdly, by the connection which it has revealed between the religion of Israel and the Semitic religions on the one side, and Christianity and its origin on the other.

M. JEAN RÉVILLE presented a most interesting and instructive table, tracing the actual state of the teaching of History of Religions in Europe and America. The countries which first instituted instruction of this kind were Holland and Switzerland. In 1877 professorships were founded in Holland for the history of religious ideas, and the comparative history of religions other than Christianity, respectively. At Geneva, in 1873, a professorship of History of Religions was established in the *Faculté des Lettres* (since 1868 the eminent professor of dogmatics, Aug. Bouvier,\* had been teaching this science in the *Faculté de Théologie*). In France the professorship of the History of Religions of the *Collège de France*, so ably filled by Albert Réville, was created in 1879. At the same time the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* was founded, which is now conducted by Messrs. Jean Réville and Marillier. Afterwards, in 1886, a section of religious investigations was created at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*. The author then reviewed what had been done as regards teaching the history in England, the United States, Germany, Italy, etc. He remarked that in the Universities of Germany very little has been done for instruction in this science, except at Fribourg in Breisgau. That is probably due to the object and organization of the Faculties of Theology in Germany. In these Faculties religion is only studied in its relation to the Old and New Testaments.†

In the second general sitting Messrs. Goldziher, le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, and Marillier spoke.

\* Professor Bouvier died in 1893. He has left, amongst his voluminous notes, a very remarkable course of lectures on Doctrinal Theology, the publication of which has been prepared by Professor Montet. We may add that the History of Religions is also taught in Geneva in *secondary instruction*, viz., by our able contributor Professor Dr. E. Montet.—ED.

† Is it to this reason we must attribute the almost complete abstention of German scholars at the Congress? This abstention, whatever the cause, was both regrettable and surprising.

M. GOLDZIEHER read a paper of great interest on the influence of Parsiism on Islam. Persian culture has been the means of extending the knowledge of Islam. It was under the Abbassides at the time when orthodoxy and mere profession triumphed that Persian influence was felt. It was at that time that the Parsi ideas of clean and unclean penetrated Islam. The numerical value of religious rites, as the religious use of the tooth-pick (مسواك, *miswāk*), was also derived from a Persian custom. As regards contempt for the dog, which animal, if not liked, at least, in the time of Muhammad, was tolerated, it seems to have sprung from the fact that amongst the Parsis the dog was considered an enemy of Satan. In the latter case, this, then, establishes undeniably a reactive influence.

Le Comte GOBLET D'ALVIELLA read a masterly paper on the historical relations between religion and morality. He pointed out the evolution of this relationship, and thought that in the future, morality would become independent of religion, but he considered that religion would never be indifferent to the subject of morality. The Parliament of Chicago, which was only rendered possible by religious and historical science, has, moreover, shown the unity and joint solidarity which exist in a moral point of view between religions.

Mr. MARILLIER, in a charming account, has shown by a number of examples the influence of folk-lore in religious studies. The laws deduced from the study of folk-lore clearly explain facts of cultivated civilizations, facts appertaining to a primitive culture which had survived ancient times. It is thus that in England the superstitious custom of pricking and boiling a heifer's heart, and pronouncing the name of one's enemy, is still practised, a superstition which we find in the Australian religions. The author remarked, with much reason, that folk-lore gives the idea of religion before it is individualized, and consequently it does not teach us about religions, but about the Religion.

In the third general sitting M. FOURNIER DE FLAIX introduced the statistics of religions for 1900. He estimates the actual population of the globe at 1,553 millions, and gives the following totals for the principal religions of the world: Christianity, 555 millions; Judaism, 8½ millions; Islamism, 220 millions; Parsiism, 100,000; Buddhism, 103 millions. These figures must be received with reserve.

At the same meeting several resolutions were put and agreed to. The desire was expressed that a definition of terms should be employed in the science of religions (for example, fetishism, totemism, etc.). A desire was also expressed for the establishment of a periodical for the purpose of giving an analysis of Japanese Buddhism, the publication of which was entrusted to the Japanese members of the Congress, especially to Professor Fujishima, of the Buddhist College of Kyoto). It was agreed to collect and publish the liturgies, prayers, rites, etc., of the Churches of the East. Attention was drawn to the forthcoming Congress of the study of possible historic relations between Buddhism and Christianity.

The Semitic section expressed a desire that a body of scholars should draw up an analysis of Christian-Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, and also an account of the non-Mussulman Arabic literature in general.

The question of the next Congress was gone into, and after some discussion it was resolved that it should assemble every four years. The organizing committee of the present Congress was charged with the arrangements of the forthcoming one of 1904. No place has yet been fixed upon, but a Swiss University town has been proposed.

At the last general meeting, which was the closing one, an interesting paper was read on the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, sent by Mr. CARROLL BONNEY, President of the Religious Parliament Extension.

Before concluding, Count de GUBERNATIS, in a discourse which was remarkable for liberal ideas and generous thoughts, as well as by the beauty of its literary style, dealt with the great question of the future of the Science of Religions.\*

This Congress on the History of Religions, of which we have given a brief account, has proved a great success. When, two years ago, there was a question of holding at Paris, in 1900, a Congress of this kind, most discouraging things were predicted of it, and we are aware of the obstacles which its adversaries placed in its path before its inception. This Congress is now an accomplished and significant fact. Indeed, it has resulted in a gathering of many eminent men of very diverse beliefs, for the purpose of discussing purely historical and scientific questions relating to all the religions of the world. What better proof have we of the liberal spirit prevailing at the close of the nineteenth century? *No other science is more elevating to the mind than that of religions.*

A final word in praise of the Congress. It has been very serious; the receptions and fêtes have been restricted to those absolutely necessary—a pleasant reception at the Guimet Museum; a charming afternoon at the villa of Messrs. Jean and Albert Réville at Auteuil; a banquet of cordial simplicity on the first story of the Eiffel Tower—entertainments in accordance with the object of a Congress on the History of Religions, with an austerity which was not out of place in such an assembly.

\* In the treatment of his subject, Count de Gubernatis believed he had found a trace of the Hindu transmigration of souls in the following phrase in the service for the dead of the Roman liturgy: "Ne tradas bestiis animas confidentium tuorum." Is not the meaning of this passage exaggerated?



## THE AVESTA NOT PHILONIAN.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

A VERY distinguished Orientalist some few years ago suddenly reversed his former valuable opinions on the independence of the Avesta. He had fully stated his views in the affirmative sense, but later he argued that the Avesta, even in its oldest part, was written under the influence of the philonian philosophy, either in the course of its (the philosophy's) development, or actually in the time of the great Grecian Jew. And he hazarded this opinion upon real or supposed resemblances between the ideas present in the two ancient literatures. I have elsewhere stated in this review that I regard those ideas as very dissimilar when exhaustively examined; but of course the general cast of all such speculation possesses certain common qualities.

Without pausing to discuss this question further just at this point, it may be very useful indeed for us to stop and inquire whether a similarity, even such as was taken for granted by the authors of the suggestion referred to, entails such an external historical connection between the two important lores as exists between cause and effect.

Let it be supposed for a moment, for the sake of argument, that "the Vohumanah" (of the Gāthas) was "like Philo's Logos." Is there not an important method of accounting for this resemblance before we take into consideration any such influences as those which might be derived from immediate external contact? For we need not pause here to prohibit the use of such a very unfit and conventional term as "accident," which is a mere name for our ignorance. Aside, then, from this last, let me fully state my problem, which is, that where two things of the nature of those here present are found to be alike, it is not necessary for us to assume that one of them is related to the other as cause is related to effect, not even when they have appeared at times closely near to each other. No resemblances, however close, and no apparent connection, however positive, is in itself an absolutely certain proof of causality, or even a proof of immediate identity in origin, for these circumstances might be the consequences of more general laws, which necessarily control the forces, out of which both the phenomena in question arose at remotely previous periods. In which case the likeness which exists in these ideas would arise from the same causes indeed; but these would be seen to be causes so distant as almost to reside in the original unity of the forces of Nature. Certain of the ideas in the Gāthic hymns and some of those in the philonian and neoplatonic philosophies may therefore, as I contend, have arisen from causes which had nothing whatsoever to do with any immediate personal or national connection in the historical period. But more.

It seems to be absolutely certain that such ideas as some of those which prevail in the Gāthas and in Philo not only *may* have originated independently of one another, but that they are such as *must* inevitably have so arisen in the minds of human beings of a certain not so narrowly-restricted type; and this so soon as they have attained to a certain degree

of development and of culture upon development, and so soon, also, as they come under the influence of certain never-failing quasi external phenomena. Similar ideas not only do, but they must arise independently in each human being, if they contain what we may term the "necessary elements." Why should they not? To some of us this seems to be so plain as to appear a mere feature in universal natural history (*Naturwissenschaft*).

The human organism is of exceptional delicacy and of remote ancestral origin, as are very many of the higher organisms beneath it. The inner life of these latter may, strange as it is, seem to some of us to be the simpler and the more familiar; and we may be more ready to concede a common predestined similarity of ideas to them; if, indeed, the lower orders can be said to have "ideas," which, however, I, for one, could not for a moment think of attempting to deny.

From what we might call the almost miraculous forces, which lurk in every inferior cerebral (or spinal) cell, and as the result of impinging approaches, which are indefinitely less than visible to the naked or even to the assisted eye, the fundamental tissues, out of which all life proceeds, find themselves in action and reaction, first as recipient and then as originating powers, supreme over the future course of the individual being, rudimental as that individual may be. And as each separate division of a lobe, from its central muscle to its remotest tendril, is a physical continuity to a remotely previous series, we might, if we possessed sufficiently minute perceptive powers, trace back the thread of its history, till at last we find the point of common origin for all of them. This would be some primeval entity, containing within itself the possibilities of all that follows it as its parts.

And as everything extant and visible in the class of objects which we may be considering has arisen from that same original, this original must have been divided and subdivided as its offspring have been reproduced into portions, which must be to a high degree, and, in many instances, wellnigh essentially alike. And these developed entities, whatever we may term them individually, are not only of identical origin in their past, but they are subject to very nearly the same class of external influences in their present and in their future. How is it possible that they can escape developing, in their turn, subjective tendencies, followed by motions or actions which are similar?

If their origin were not explained as external to Nature, we should be inclined to look upon them as a section of a circle in a perpetual motion, of indefinitely previous origin and indefinitely enduring continuity. In a manner fully analogous to this, that higher organism, the human brain, has had its being, passing through very similar stages of development. And these have been, presumably, more marvellous than has been the case with any of the others. Both in its susceptibility to impressions from without, and in the intercommunication of the forces which enable it to co-ordinate those impressions, that is to say, in its character, it must be, comparatively speaking, far more fixed and vigorous, as the product of immensely more numerous antecedents, through an indefinitely prolonged preparatory history. Upon each internal receptive nerve-centre minute photographs (so to use

such a figure of speech) have been precipitated for ages in the continuous line of life, and stored away unconsciously in the successive folds of memory. At given moments, the action of external personal or impersonal nature touches the recipient organ, surcharged as it is with (accumulated) responsive vitality.

At each such impact, sensibilities are awakened more subtle than many of the otherwise occult forces, moving (if we might make use of such a figure) in their reaction with a velocity of which the magnetic current may afford an emblem. Apprehensions and desires spring into rapid life till full ideas are born. And from the first stir of a molecule to the finished elaborations of intellection, all results must be just in so far essentially kindred in each as the substantive beings are in themselves similar, and as the ideas are fundamental and necessary. No two individual living objects are, we must suppose, actually the same, either in their texture or inherent energy; but no two of their particular class can be essentially dissimilar in their chief characteristics. The same ideas must arise from the same contacts of the same forces, under identical surrounding circumstances.

No such closely similar products could be counted upon as occurring in sporadic cases wholly isolated from each other. Each cerebral centre, as an organ of thought, is a part of its mates, though at present severed from them, for it contains a portion of that so mysterious substance from which each other one of the kind derives its origin.

And as the nerve-centres of distinctly defined human beings are yet to be considered as parts of one another in the sense expressed, so the scenes which unroll themselves before the vision and the other subjective susceptibilities of each are necessarily as similar to man, as they are to his brother of the lower orders. Not only are the constituent material elements, in the interests which operate upon people, practically the same, but the very combinations and detail of recurring objects and events are similar. History not only does but must repeat itself. As the great commonplaces of meteorology have established themselves as regular, giving us the expectation of what makes our life possible as a period of sane activity, so the great throng of the detailed motions or events in the world are to be expected in their general character. Rising crops, accumulating ores, diverted rivers, tunnelled mountains, controlled electric forces, marts gathered in teeming centres, factories tremulous with fiercely-driven mechanisms, schools of practical learning thronged and busy. Anything and everything real, or merely seeming, reverts not in circle unprogressive and vicious, let us hope, but in a spiral, with ever-increasing development. Each individual combination is coming on, culminating and redissolving into its elements from a past eternity, and so will each continue to do to a similar unending duration.

The scene, with its big faults and its small advantages, streams slowly around us, now repulsive to the verge of the terrific, but again sublime. And all comes before the self-same expectant and receptive faculties, as well in men as in brutes, creating impressions and suggesting motives, till the thoughtful observer is soon convinced that the individual is but a

part in one vast organism. How is it possible, then, that we should not experience at times the same fundamental surmises—nay, the self-same identical conceptions even as to what may not seem so much the primal elements of things?

In conclusion. Ideas arise independently in different parts of the world and in different minds, just as they arise in the same narrow community and in the same mind at different times without the link of recollection. And not only do they so arise independent of all immediate external mental contact, from one region to another, but they cannot help but so arise, recurring and at certain quasi registrable intervals. It is not only not strange that the same ideas should arise in parts of the world so far separated, and in times so different as those of Zoroaster and of Philo, supposing the former to have lived several centuries before the latter; but the contrary to this would be strange. The reproductions of ideas must happen. Especially must this be the case when these so-called fundamental ideas which we are considering are the moral ideas, these latter being almost instincts, for we experience the immediate necessity for their application at every step.

This is to such a degree the case that the moral idea is often supposed to be discernible to some extent, even in the "animal" world. And when we see gifted intellects elaborating in the main the same theories, though ending with different selections, it becomes simply ridiculous for us to expect to find no similarity between even widely-separated individuals of a similar class and in lores of the same general tendency. The moral ideas depend upon measure, and measure is the prerogative of man. The ideas in the zarathushtrian Gāthas supposed to possess a similarity to certain ideas in the philonian philosophy are chiefly of this character; and they are ideas which could not well possibly have failed to emerge from any civilization which possesses the characteristics which are claimed by experts both for the Iranian lore and for that of the Alexandrians.

We find also much, as a matter of course, the same ideas developed in India, to an extent only surpassed in the schools of Greece; and it was as inevitable that they should appear there as in Iran and in Egypt, though, properly speaking, we should treat the Indian and the Iranian lores as different parts of the same homogeneous thing.

It seems to me, then, to be in itself contradictory to all sound procedure in material as in historical science to suppose that the ideas in the old Avesta are in any way necessarily connected with those in the philonian philosophy as either cause or effect. But supposing it to be evident that this relation existed between the two, and that one of them was the cause of the other as its effect, then I do not hesitate to assert that, beyond all question, it was the zarathushtrian which was the source of the philonian ideas (involved), and not the philonian which was the source of the zarathushtrian—that is to say, if these features of resemblance are such as they are supposed by some to be. But this latter I by no means hold to be the case.\*

\* See my article, "Was Vohumanah Philo's Logos?" in the number of this Review for April, 1900, pp. 351, 352.

## MARCO POLO'S TANGUT.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE history of Tangut has, I believe, never been told in consecutive and intelligible form. It is not without a fascination on its own merits, as a mere narrative of events; but it possesses also a special "world interest," owing to the light it throws upon Far Eastern diplomacy in the Middle Ages, and to the vivid way in which it illustrates by analogy some of the Chinese problems now occupying the mind of the European "Steam Roller."

In order to understand how this powerful State came into existence, and maintained itself intact for 300 years against the attacks of Tartars, Tibetans, and Chinese, it is necessary to take a rapid glance at the general political situation of the times. At the beginning of the seventh century of our era, China had become once more a united empire in the powerful hands of the T'ang dynasty; but from the beginning the Emperors of this new house had to fight fiercely for their existence both with the Turkish Empire north of the Great Wall, and with the Tibetan Empire of Lhása south of it. During the two centuries or more of almost incessant conflict (620-866), the Chinese, Tibetans, and Turks each held in turn the region, roughly known as Chinese Turkestan, lying between Issyk Kul and Koko Nor; but in the end nothing remained of the Turks in the Chinese regions but a few Ongut and Ouigour tribes settled in Marco Polo's Tenduc, Sacchiou, Succuur, and Campiciou (T'ien-têk, Sha Chou, Suk Chou, and Kam Chou), and nothing remained of the Tibetans of Lhása in Chinese regions except a number of unorganized tribes in the neighbourhood of Si-ning, Liang Chou, and Koko Nor. Both rival empires had utterly disappeared never to return, and the Chinese would have been complete masters of the situation had not other and more inglorious circumstances



joined themselves to the exhaustion consequent upon so much warring to bring about a new revolution in China.

The disappearance of the Turks gave opportunity for the Tungusic powers to grow, and their history—that of the Kitans and Nüchêns (practically early editions of Mongols and Manchus)—has already been given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April and October, 1900. But the exhaustion of the empire's resources also placed an undue share of influence in the hands of successful generals, and gave rise to a general popular discontent which often expressed itself in local rebellions. Hence we find that, towards the end of the ninth century, the whole empire was seething with discontent, the power in the provinces was all in the hands of military satraps arrogating quasi-hereditary rights, and the Emperors were mere "Byzantine" degenerates surrounded by eunuchs, women, and flatterers. The political position in China was not unlike that in England at the close of the Wars of the Roses: the central ruler had to make the best terms he could with his refractory nobles.

The culminating point of all this misery was the great rebellion of Hwang Ch'ao, a gigantic popular movement which, like the Taiping rebellion of fifty years ago, broke out in Kwang Si, and swept like a hurricane over all the fairest parts of China south of the Yellow River. The Emperor was obliged to fly from his capital (the Si-ngan Fu of to-day, to which the Empress-Dowager has just escaped from Peking), and to call in the aid of his Tartar satraps. Amongst these were the Onguts of North Shan Si (Tenduc), and the Tobas of the Ordos region (Ning-hia), with whose assistance the capital was ultimately recovered, and the rebel chief, Hwang Ch'ao, slain (884). But the T'ang dynasty was hopelessly corrupt, and the final result of all this anarchy was that, in 904, the military satraps divided the empire between them. The greater part of China north of the Yellow River fell into Kitan hands, and was never properly reunited to the empire until the Mongols

were ejected by the native Ming dynasty 450 years later (1368). Southern and Western China were split up into petty "empires" and principalities, each one owing nominal, though fitful, allegiance to the central power, or to the Kitans. Central China was until 960 in the hands of either the Chinese satraps or the Ongut satraps of the late T'ang dynasty, who, under pretext of representing or avenging their extinct masters, ruled in turn at the ancient Chinese capitals, receiving a certain modicum of homage from the south-western principalities, and themselves paying tribute or subsidies to the Kitans (Cathayans). At last, in 960, a successful general named Chao Kwang-yin, Duke of Sung, put an end to this anarchy, and reunited the whole of China except that part beyond the Great Wall, which remained in the hands of Cathay (the Kitans). The Toba satrap at Ning-hai hastened to send a present of horses to the new Emperor, at which the founder of the Great Sung Dynasty was so pleased that, with his own royal hands, he superintended the polishing and arranging of his finest gems for fitting up a belt of honour he intended to present in return.

Now we have a clear situation. In 960 the realm of Hia, which was destined to play an important historical rôle until overthrown in 1227 by Genghiz Khan, consisted at this time of nearly all the territory within the loop of the Yellow River, and no more. I say "nearly all," for the Chinese seem to have always struggled hard to hold both banks—at least, where that stream forms a boundary between Shen Si and Shan Si—and to have also maintained their hold upon all the tributaries running east into the Yellow River so far as those tributaries were navigable. Boats are never once mentioned in Tangut history. All this will be clearly understood if a good map showing the levels and streams be consulted, and none is better than Dr. E. Bretschneider's, so often eulogized in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. All China Proper was in the hands of the literary, polite, and highly civilized Sung dynasty, which in its

political morality and military capacity strongly resembled the Byzantine monarchy contemporaneously ruling at Constantinople. The chief capital was the modern K'ai-fêng Fu. The Cathayans, or Kitans, ruled the Peking plain almost exactly so far as it is now occupied by the allied European troops, those parts of Chih Li and Shan Si outside the Great Wall, all Manchuria, and East Mongolia. The only southern neighbour of Tangut possessing an organized Government was the State of Khoten, with which from the first nearly to the last Si Hia (*i.e.*, West Hia, or Tangut) remained on very good terms. The word "Tangut" was totally unknown to the Cathayans, Nüchêns, and Chinese, so far as their respective histories in Chinese are concerned. Hia, or West Hia, was the only known name, and "Tangut" is a Mongol name dating from the thirteenth century (*i.e.*, in written history). To the west of Hia were a few Tibetan tribes, some of them connected with, but left behind by, the former Lhása rulers after their final defeat by the Ouigours and Chinese in 866. These tribes were in possession of Marco Polo's Erguiul (Erichew, said by Palladius to be the Mongol name for Si-liang Fu, this last, however, being applicable both to the modern Liang-chou Fu and to Yung-ch'ang Hien), and of the region around Si-ning Fu. There were also some of older date in the northern parts of Shan Shi; these were called Tang-hiang, probably the origin of the Mongol plural form Tang-god, or "the Tangs." West again were the Ouigours, as described, and that is all; there were no other neighbours. All the Far West was now totally removed from Chinese influence: there were certainly occasional complimentary missions from Persia, the Caliphs, India, Khoten, and even Syria; but neither the Cathayans nor the Chinese possessed any authority whatever over Siberia, Western Mongolia, Turkestan, Little Bokhara, Tibet, or the Tsaidam: *à fortiori* the little State of Hia, dovetailed in between the two great Chinese empires of Sung (Manzi) and Cathay, possessed no political significance whatever, except indirectly through

the interests of her immediate neighbours just enumerated. Thus we now have *une situation nette* upon which to work.

Now, although the ruling house of Hia was derived originally from scions of the Tungusic Tartar dynasty of Toba, it had, ever since the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (628) borne the surname or family name of Li, bestowed upon it by the founder, Li Shī-min, in 627. Throughout the T'ang dynasty (619-904), and the anarchical Five Dynasty period (904-960), this family had ruled in semi-independence, always at or near the spot where the Yellow River pierces the Great Wall, as it flows north in order to form the so-called "Loop" round the Ordos Desert. The genealogies and dates of all these Hia rulers are known, but I refrain from encumbering these pages with matter not absolutely essential to my purpose, which is to give to non-specialists definite impressions of the political situation. In the year 982 the grandson of the man who got the jewelled belt from China presented himself at the Chinese Court in person. It is incidentally mentioned that his grandmother bore the family name of Tuku, which is well known to be Tungusic. From his conversation with the Emperor we are able to judge that the population under Hia rule must have been largely Tibetan. The Emperor said: "The Kiang men" (the old national name for Tibetan tribes) "are fierce and rapacious: on what principles do you rule them?" The answer was: "I can't rule them; I can only keep them fairly quiet." Meanwhile he surrendered to the Emperor the "iron warrant," bearing the imperial signature of the T'ang monarch, dated a century earlier, and conferring rank upon his ancestor for services against the rebels; and he forthwith received the new imperial surname of Chao. But the younger brother of this obsequious vassal took advantage of his senior's absence to revolt in favour of the Cathayans, who naturally received him with open arms; moreover, they gave him a daughter of the "royal tents" in marriage, made him King of Hia, and encouraged him to harass the Chinese

dynasty of Sung (with which the Cathayans were then at war for the possession of the Peking plain). Now followed a desultory war between the two Tangut brothers, who seem to have alternately "made it up," used their patrons as best suited their immediate interests, or "gone for" each other when a good opportunity presented itself. The upshot of it all was that in 994 the Cathayan candidate got the better of the Chinese candidate, who only escaped his brother's hands to be ignominiously carried off to the Chinese Court by his patrons, in order to answer for his treacheries and defeats. He was, however, treated kindly by the Emperor, and died in honourable though tedious captivity in 1004. The younger "brother," as the Chinese call him, but really a cousin, was now in sole possession. In 995 this brother, who was also a "King" under Cathayan patent, seems to have been tacitly recognised by China too, for a conversation is reported between his envoy and the Chinese Emperor at a review of archers, which conversation again proves that most of his subjects were Tibetan. "Dare the Kiang men face bows of two hundredweight force like those?" "Your Majesty, the Kiang bows are weak,\*and their arrows short: the mere sight of these bows would make them decamp without waiting to see them actually drawn." Notwithstanding this obsequious answer, the Chinese Emperor was manifestly more anxious to conciliate the ruler of Hia than the latter was to accept satrap rank as a mere Chinese general. There was a good deal of fighting about the head-waters of the various rivers of modern Shen Si and Kan Suh provinces, which rivers, as above mentioned, flow eastwards into the Yellow River. In these wars the "Six Valley" Tibetan tribes of Si-liang (Erguiul) fought on the Chinese side, and severely defeated the Ruler of Hia in an attempt to take their town: he himself was wounded, and died a few weeks later (1004).

Although for clearness' sake I do not mention the personal names of all the Tangut rulers, it is necessary to state here



that the King of Tangut, who succeeded in 1004, was personally named Têh-ming. Owing to the character *ming* being distinguishable in Chinese only by a minute turn or two of the pencil from the character *chao*, and owing to the fact that the Cathayans ignored the adoption by Tangut rulers of Sung family names, this King, Chao Têh-ming, is mentioned once or twice in Cathayan history as Li Têh-chao instead of Li Têh-ming; but it is absolutely certain that *ming* is the correct form, for the character was *tabu* when it occurred in the almanac sent by China. His mother's family name was Yeli, and he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-three (twenty-two by European computation); consequently he must have been born in 982. As his father only married the Cathayan Princess of the royal tent (Yelüh family) in 989, it is evident that his mother was not the Cathayan. Besides, it is stated that his father at the age of twenty-one had "strengthened his position by marriage ties with the tribes" in or by the year 983, before sending in his submission to the Cathayans, so that the consonance of Yeli and Yelüh has no significance. Moreover, both the Sung and Kitan histories mention the death of a third mother in 1007.\* Later on we shall see that this point is of importance. Finally the new ruler's "small name" was A-i, or O-i, one which frequently appears either jointly or divided in Tangut nomenclature, so that we must assume Mistress Yeli to have been a Tibetan—in any case not a Cathayan. The Tangut ruler seems to have held with the hare and run with the hounds from the beginning of his reign. In the year 1006 we find him accepting, amongst other titles from China, that of "King of Si-p'ing" (an old name for Si-ning), an honour already granted to him by the Cathayans in 1004. In either 1008 or 1010 the Cathayans sent to confer upon him the title of "King of Hia." There is some discrepancy about the exact dates, but somewhere between those two years the Cathayans had to chastise their vassals, the Ouigours of Campichu, who, like the Tanguts, habitually

served two Chinese masters. The King of Tangut might have been a Boer in his aptitude for giving too little and asking too much. There being drought and scarcity in his dominions, he applied for a million hundredweight of grain : he was told the grain was at his disposal if he would send for it. In order to spy out the land, he asked permission to send an envoy with sacrifices to the great Shan Si temple of Wu-t'ai Shan. There were many minor disputes connected with frontier customs, stations, trespassers, deserters, and so on, but no warfare rising above the dignity of frontier skirmishes. In 1012 he took the important step of conferring imperial posthumous honours upon his father, who became *Divissimus Maximus, Imperator Clarus*. In the year 1013 the Cathayans sent some presents to the King, and also to the Cathayan Princess (evidently his stepmother); and in 1019 the Chinese Court went into mourning for his stepmother (evidently the Cathayan Princess). In 1020 the Chinese Sung dynasty record that the Cathayan monarch himself led 500,000 troops, which were marching out nominally on a grand hunting expedition, against the Liang-tien (apparently Erguiul) region, but that the King of Hia defeated him. It is singular that no mention whatever is made of this important fact in Cathayan history, but it must be explained that the Mongol historian (thirteenth century) who put together the materials for the Cathayan history points out several other instances where the Cathayan annalists are clearly convicted of having concealed or glossed over unpleasant facts. On the other hand it is notable, but far from a singular case, that the Sung historians (exactly the same Mongols) should go out of their way to record a disaster to Cathayan arms which in no way directly concerned them, especially as the Sung and Cathayan Empires were now at peace. The Sung history goes on to record that in 1021 the Cathayans by special envoy created Chao Têh-ming "King of Great Hia," whilst the Cathayan history simply records that in

1021 Li Têh-chao sent tribute. As a matter of fact, the relations of inaccessible Hia to Cathay and China were very much like those of the present Amir of Afghanistan to Russia and England: he was tributary to neither, but he accepted subsidies from one as an encouragement to keep the other out of mischief. In 1022 he walled in his new capital of Hing Chou, which seems to have been transferred from the right to the left bank. In 1028 he sent his son to attack Campichu, and it was taken. In 1030 the King of Kwa Chou also submitted. This Kwa Chou is, according to the Ming history, the name given during the T'ang dynasty to a place 240 li (80 English miles) outside the Kia-yüeh Kwan (extreme western point of the Great Wall), called Ch'ih-kin; in other words, it is Marco Polo's *Ginghin-talas* (or "plain"), as already explained in part by the Russian Archimandrite Palladius. Nothing is said of this in the Cathayan history, but the following remarks about the Ouigours prove beyond doubt that the Cathayans had unsuccessfully vied with the Tanguts in an effort to conquer the Ouigour land for themselves.

1006. The Tun-hwang King (also an ancient name for Ch'ih-kin, according to the Ming history) sends an envoy with Arab tribute of horses.

1008. The Kam Chou Ouigours chastised by our North-West Proconsul: their King Yelali surrenders and is conciliated.

1010. The North-West Proconsul reports having attacked the Kam Chou Ouigours, taken their city of Suk Chou, and made captive all their people.

1014. The Shah Chou Ouigour (same family name as the Tun-hwang King) sends envoys with tribute; in 1019 he is patented Prince of Tun-hwang; in 1021 he sends tribute, and is given presents.

1020-21. The King of the Tazih (Arabs) asks a maid for his son Ch'eh-ko (? Jacob); K'olao, daughter of Hulikai, is made a Princess, and is given to him.

1026. War with the Kam Chou Ouigours.

The above, though laconic, amply demonstrates, when joined to the Sung statements, that, in the conflict for the possession of Ouïgour land, the Tanguts had worsted the Cathayans. Both the Tangut monarch and the Cathayan monarch died in the year 1031.

The "small name" of the next ruler was Ngwei-li, a point which is only of interest because "in the native language" *ngwei* is said to mean "to care for," and *li* to mean "riches." The puzzle of Tangut script has not yet been fully solved, and we must be careful not to consign to oblivion any scraps of evidence by which the language may be identified as a pure or mixed dialect, it is presumed of Tibetan. The other names of this monarch must also be given, for he was by far the most eminent of the Tangut rulers. His official personal name, as expressed in Chinese, was originally Yüan-hao, which in 1043 he changed, as we shall see, to Nang-siao. The first means "from the beginning luminous," and the second "in past days misty"—doubtless a modest allusion to his political errors, as will shortly appear more clearly. He also received from the Cathayans a Princess in marriage, as well as a patent as King of Si-p'ing. The Sung Court also lost no time in crowding the usual titles upon him, including that of King of Si-p'ing. He seems to have been a man of great distinction, his military talents being on a par with his artistic, juridical, and literary tastes, with his ambition, and with his inventive capacity. Besides being acquainted with Chinese letters, he understood the *fan* (not *fam*, "Sanskrit" or "Pali"), by which we must understand the Tibetan-Sanskrit of Lhâsa, and he was very learned in *fou-t'u* (= Budh) lore; he well utilized these linguistic advantages in order to invent a new script suited to his own country. A special paragraph will be devoted to this important question towards the end of the present paper. During his father's lifetime he frequently remonstrated with that ruler upon the indignity of accepting subsidies as the price of vassalage to China; his remarks are almost word for word identical

with those of the most ambitious Scythian (Hiung-nu, or prehistoric Turk) Khans, a thousand years earlier, and also with those of the true Turk patriots in the eighth century: "Wearing skin and fur, tending flocks and herds—that is what suits the *fan* character. A hero is born to dominate. What is the use of gorgeous silks to him?" The instant he came into possession of his hereditary rights, he set about reducing the surrounding tribes to submission, introducing reforms into the sumptuary habits of his Court, and organizing the civil and military administration on a modified Chinese basis—much as in Europe the Frankish Emperors adapted the Roman system to their special environment. For himself he took the native title of "Ngwei-ming *utsu*," the latter word stated to mean the same as "Khan." Besides a good deal of aggressive skirmishing with the Chinese, the Tangut ruler in 1035 sent his son (Sunur or Sunul) with 25,000 men to attack the Tibetan chieftain Kuk-sz-lo, or Kuksara, a scion of the Lhása rulers, whose original name was "the K'i-nam-ling-wên Ts'ien-pu." By this we must understand some such Tibetan name as "the Kyi-nams-rin-doang Gialbo." This man was born in Ouigour land, where he was discovered by one of the Kiang merchants from the Si-ning region. It is stated that *kuk* means "Budh," and *sz-lo* "son," in that particular Kiang dialect; so here again is a clue for philologists to take up. It is also mentioned that, after the Erguiul wars above described, Kuksara had already had some fighting with Tangut, and had settled as a chief in the modern Si-ning region. Be that as it may, the result of 300 days' hard fighting in 1035-36 was that Kam Chou (Campichu), Liang Chou (Erguiul), Kwa Chou (Ginghin-talas), Sha Chou (Sacchiou), and Suk Chou (Succiur), now all fell into Tangut hands, and almost ceased to be mentioned from this day both in the Cathayan and Chinese histories of the period. Hami, or Hamie (Marco Polo's Kamul), never belonged for an instant to Tangut, and Colonel Yule is more than right when he says Tangut is "*sometimes considered* to embrace Kamul,



Turfan, and Si-ngan Fu"; it is never stated in Chinese works to have included any one of the three—at all events, previous to the Mongul conquest in 1227.

Having thus added Ouigour land to his dominions, which never at any time extended many miles west of Long. 95, east of Long. 110, or south of Lat. 34, the Hia despot now proceeded to thoroughly reorganize his regular army, which is said to have consisted of over 500,000 men, stationed in corps of 50,000 to 70,000 at various suitable places; his weakest force (30,000) was on the Campichu road, so that it is plain the scattered Ouigours and Tibetans there were not thought of very much account. Except at the capital, which was then officially called Hing Chou, or Hing-k'ing Fu, no army corps but that watching the Cathayans numbered so many as 70,000 men. A man named Yeli Jênjung was in charge of the *fan* (as distinguished from the Chinese) education department. The ruler himself invented a modified form of Chinese script, and Yeli was ordered to explain and develop it, which he did in a book of twelve chapters. But there is no ground to assume with Devéria that Yeli was a Kitan, and that he brought Kitan notions of script with him. The King's best troops were styled the "Iron Horse," consisting of 3,000 heavily armoured men, in ten regiments; partly Chinese, splendidly mounted, their function was to charge the enemy first, try to break his ranks, and make way for the more deliberate advance of the infantry. For the heaviest fighting he relied upon a picked Kiang tribe, called the "Mountain O." The military warrant of office, always handed by the King in person to the commanders, consisted of a silver *p'ai* (the *baiza* of Mongol history).

(To be continued.)

## THE DECADENT WHITE ELEPHANT.

BY PYINYA.

OF all the factors which have assisted in building up the history of Indo-China, none has been of more importance than the White Elephant, concerning which almost every writer on Burma or Siam has had something to say. It is, in fact, well known that these albinos have, in Brahmin and Buddhist countries, from the most ancient times, been highly prized and eagerly sought for. Notwithstanding, however, the many accounts which we have of White Elephants, and the diverse opinions and suggestions which have been offered as to the origin of the esteem in which they are held, the origin still remains shrouded in considerable obscurity.

We know that the legend of the birth of Gautama the Buddha has it that his mother, the pure and holy Māya, dreamt that she was carried by archangels to heaven, and that there the future Buddha entered her side in the semblance of a White Elephant. This, it would appear, together with the recorded fact that one of the multitudinous previous existences of the Buddha was in the form of a White Elephant, has been considered by many writers as a satisfactory explanation of the reverence paid to the animal. This part played by the White Elephant in the coming of the Buddha would seem, however, to be rather the effect than the cause of his prominent position among the peoples of the East ; for, as in another sacred legend, a similar rôle was assigned to the dove on account of its having been already an accepted emblem of all that is meek and gentle, so the White Elephant, it is safe to say, was selected for the part as being the emblem of all that is princely and noble. How, then, did the White Elephant come to be regarded as such an emblem ?

From the remotest pre-Buddhist times the elephant has figured largely in the religions of India, his awe-inspiring

size, strength, and sagacity causing him to be considered as a natural appanage of the gods. The elephant of Indra (Airawatta) is one example, and, far back in the time of the old Sun-worship, the White Elephant and the White Horse were regarded as emblems of the sun itself.

According to the Vedic writings, at certain periods of the world's existence—that is, once in a cycle of many æons—appears upon the earth a Universal Monarch, an altogether celestial being, having upon his body a multitude of signs whereby he may be known (there are thirty-two signs upon the feet alone), and known as the Maha Chakkra Warti Raja, the Sekya Waday Min of the Burmese, “the Great Wheel Revolving King.” Among the other attributes of such a King are seven precious things, without the possession of which he cannot be genuine, and foremost among these seven is the White Elephant. Now, the King of each of the nations of Indo-China, as also of some other Buddhist countries, has invariably regarded himself as the only true descendant of the ancient Vedic Kings, and has therefore considered himself as, if not a Maha Chakkra Warti Raja, at any rate the nearest possible approach to one, and therefore the only rightful possessor of a White Elephant. Hence the desire to procure them, and hence, also, the fruitful source of wars which these animals have been.

A mass of superstition and tradition has, as a matter of course, with the passing of the centuries, grown up around the possession of the Glorious Beast. Thus it was believed that the more White Elephants a King could boast of, the greater would in consequence be the prosperity of himself and his country, and the acquisition or loss of the creatures often very considerably affected the prestige of a monarch. The death of a White Elephant in captivity was looked upon as a sure foreboding of calamity, and if several died in rapid succession, then Heaven had evidently deserted the King, and the only way to avert national disaster was to rebel against and depose him as an impostor and no true

King. That this procedure naturally precipitated trouble only served to strengthen belief in the superstition. It was also, and is still, believed that a kind of magnetic sympathy existed between the King and his White Elephants, and that the sickness of the one probably induced indisposition of the other.

In spite of what has been said by some travellers, there is, however, no authentic record of the White Elephant having ever been worshipped in Indo-China as a truly sacred being, and Sir John Bowring related in 1855 how the then King of Siam, His Majesty Mongkut, insisted that the White Elephant is not worshipped or regarded as sacred, from a religious point of view, by the Siamese people.

The older writers troubled themselves little about the origin of the pride taken in the possession of White Elephants, confining themselves usually to enthusiastic remarks on the beauty and rarity of the animals, and reflections on the greatness of the Sovereigns who owned them.

Thus Master Cæsar Frederich, a traveller in India and Pegu in the sixteenth century, says of the elephants of the King of Pegu about 1560: "He hathe foure that bee white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly find another King that hathe any such"; and Mr. Ralph Fitch, another traveller, whose narrative has been recently republished, says, probably concerning the same elephants: "Among the rest he (the King) hath foure white Elephants which are very rare, for there is none other King that hath any but he." Father Brugnière, a missionary in Siam, also states that about this same time the King of Siam possessed seven White Elephants, though the reverend Father does not go so far as to say that no other King had any at all. Yule, in his account of Phayre's Mission to Ava, says that, according to Batuta, who wrote in A.D. 1350, the Emperor of Ceylon was in the habit of riding on a White Elephant on State occasions.

Now, as each King of Indo-China considered himself the only living person entitled to possess White Elephants, it follows that the knowledge that any of his neighbours had the presumption to maintain any such caused continual rage and indignation to burn in his bosom, impelling him, whenever he felt himself strong enough, to declare war for the recovery of what he considered his property. Thus Ralph Fitch says: "If any other King have one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it, for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdom than not to conquer him." "He" in this case was the King of Pegu, and it is probable that, at the time when Fitch stayed at Pegu, a war with Siam for the possession of White Elephants had not long been concluded, for Father Bruguère records that, in 1650 or thereabouts, the King of Siam boasted the possession of seven White Elephants, which so inflamed the King of Pegu that he invaded Siam at the head of 700,000 warriors. The upshot of this invasion was a compromise, whereby the King of Pegu obtained two of the seven royal emblems on condition of withdrawing his army.

Unfortunately for the peace of the peninsula, the jungles of Siam produced more albino elephants than those of Pegu or Ava, so that His Majesty of Siam, though weaker than his neighbour, was constantly surpassing him in the matter of royal insignia. Thus was furnished an ever-present *casus belli*, to be taken advantage of whenever the certainty of success seemed assured.

As for the minor kingdoms, Luang Prabang, Chieng Tung, Chieng Mai, Mogaung, Wuntho, and other Shan States, if a White Elephant was by chance caught in their jungles, the Prince usually knew better than to keep it as a sign of his own royalty, such an open parade of ambition being certain to rouse the indignation of his powerful neighbours, and simply hasten his undoing. His policy was usually then to forward the beast, with as little delay as possible, to the Court of whichever King he wished



most to propitiate, a course which was rewarded by promises of protection, presents, and titles.

But time flies and customs change, even in the most conservative countries of the conservative East, and the glory of the White Elephant is fast waning. Before the influence of another white animal, the European, he is passing slowly but surely into limbo. The greater part of Indo-China is now possessed by England and France, whose rulers lay no claim to Sekya Waday descent, and who can usually find sufficient exercise for their diplomacy and their armies without recourse to zoological freaks, while in Siam long years of uninterrupted accumulation produced a collection which, necessarily unrivalled in extent, reduced the once princely White Elephant to the level of a common object of the streets of Bangkok. Siam is, in fact, the last stronghold of the White Elephant, and signs are not wanting that, even there, he will ere long cease to exist except as other elephants exist.

The contrast between the former splendour and the present forlorn condition of these royal beasts affords a striking example of the mutability of things mundane. We have it on the best authority that the White Elephant of former days lived in a palace, in magnificence second only to that of the King; that he walked abroad caparisoned in velvet and silk trappings, covered with gold and precious stones, surrounded by his slaves, attended by his Minister of State, his orchestra, his *corps de ballet*, and his choir of priests. Yule tells how, in 1855, the only White Elephant at the Court of Ava enjoyed the rank of a royal Prince, wore the gold plate common to Burmese nobility upon his forehead, inscribed with his titles, and had a district assigned to him for his revenues. He also relates how, in 1824, when raising the last instalment of the war indemnity demanded by the British, the King was obliged to appropriate the revenues of H.R.H. the White Elephant, though this was not done until a petition had been duly presented beseeching the royal creature not to be angry, as all should

be repaid in at most two months. The elephant being a sagacious animal, it is not probable that he would agree to lend money to the King, or to any other Burman, on such flimsy security; but whatever he thought, the money was taken, nor is there any record of its ever having been repaid.

Sangermano, Brugnière, Van Schouten, and others, have left accounts of the capture of White Elephants in different parts of Indo-China, all of which lay stress on the magnificence of the ceremonies, and the great delight of Kings and people in welcoming the august pachyderm to the capital. The fortunate individual who discovered the whereabouts of the White Elephant was at once raised to the highest rank of nobility, and very likely married to the King's daughter, the latter honour being, however, not so great as it sounds, as the King probably had a good many dozens of daughters to dispose of.

The capture having been effected, reliefs of nobles were told off to mount guard over the animal, which was bound with silken ropes, and detained in the jungle where he was caught. A palace was erected for its reception close to that of the King, roads were made from the place of capture to the principal highway, and, in case of transport by water, a teak house was constructed, floating on pontoons, gilded and hung with silk, on which the elephant could be conveyed to the capital, towed by the finest war-boats. Meanwhile, the process of taming was carried on, ably assisted by the prayers and offerings of thousands of holiday-makers, who flocked to behold the sublime creature, and make a little merit by feeding it with choice fruits. When the time came for the journey to the capital, the King and all his Court went out to meet the procession, the King himself being the first to kneel and make offerings to the future protector of his welfare.

Installed in his palace, loaded with honours, and with the highest-sounding titles, surrounded by the golden umbrellas and other insignia of his greatness, the White Elephant

led a life of luxurious ease, lulled to sleep by the choral chants of priests, and solaced in his waking hours by the songs and dances of the ladies of the royal *corps de ballet*, from which latter His Excellency doubtless derived much edification. Fed on delicious fruits and the most succulent vegetables, especially washed and prepared for him, bathed every day by obsequious attendants, all he had to do was to live and thrive, thereby increasing the glory of the King, and securing the prosperity and stability of the fortunate country which possessed him. At times, also, problems concerning urgent affairs of State were laid before him for solution, his opinion thereon being inferred from the frame of mind in which he showed himself to be after hearing them propounded. These duties, however, light though they were, apparently often proved beyond the power of the White Elephant to fulfil, as it is recorded that he frequently succumbed very early, either the large quantities of unwholesomely rich food, the voices of the priestly choir, or other unusual strain upon his system, proving too much for him. His demise was the occasion of universal mourning and lamentation. The early death of the King and other calamities were predicted; the entire nation went head-shaven, and the remains were cremated with regal pomp, nor was the general unhappiness allayed until another animal had been found to take the place of the defunct.

Forty-five years ago, His Majesty King Mongkut of Siam was the possessor of one White Elephant, which, in spite of the high education and good intellect of that Sovereign, was his chief delight and pride. As the greatest compliment he could think of paying to the Queen of England, he sent her, by the hands of her envoy, a few hairs, culled expressly for her, from the tail of his beloved animal; and when, a little later, the arbiter of his destiny departed this life, he sent as a present to his friend Sir John Bowring, accompanied by a touching letter in English, a small piece of "its beautiful white skin."

How changed are the present conditions of existence of the White Elephants in Bangkok! The recent addition of a young specimen to the collection afforded an opportunity of noting the miserable parody which is all that survives of the ancient ceremonies connected with the capture and installation of the White Elephant. The animal in question was captured in the forests near Lopburi, a place once famous as the summer palace and hunting lodge of the Kings of Siam. No patent of nobility or alliance with royalty rewarded the finder of the animal; a small pecuniary recompense was thought quite sufficient to meet the case. For four months the young elephant remained on the spot where he was caught, undergoing the operation of taming, but during that time, not only was there no pilgrimage to the place, with ceremonials and merry-making as of old, but the happy event of the capture was known only to a few, and by them completely ignored. Nor was it particularly noticeable that many of the high nobility and officers of State were absent from their posts about the Court, engaged on the honourable duty of guarding the royal emblem.

When it was announced that the animal was sufficiently tame, his transfer to Bangkok was ordered. Thereupon he was marched down to Ayuthia, where a specially constructed railway-truck was in readiness to receive him. But where were the gilded pillars, the silk and satin hangings of the pavilion which should receive the august creature? Where the reverent multitudes to do homage to the mascot of their King and country? Alas! these things have departed, and are no more seen, a little red calico and a group of stolid railway-porters and Chinese coolies alone representing the gorgeous decorations and adoring populace of the past.

In Bangkok, however, some preparation had been made for the reception. The fact of the impending arrival was notified to the people, and had even been published in the papers some days before. Consequently, a considerable

crowd assembled at the terminus to witness the disembarkation. The streets were decorated here and there with bunting, and a procession, headed by the four White Elephants resident at the capital, escorted the new-comer to the Palace. A crowd of bowmen and spearmen accompanied the elephants through the streets. These men were dressed in what was apparently intended to represent the military costumes of the brave old days, but if the warriors of yore at all resembled these miserable bundles of rags and pasteboard, it is evident that all the accounts of Ralph Fitch and other historians of the splendid Courts and armies of old Indo-China must have contained a good deal more of romance than of truth. The trappings of the White Elephants themselves were also most pitiful to view. Tawdry, threadbare red cloth now takes the place of jewel-studded velvet and silk, diamond and ruby rings no longer ornament the precious tusks, nor are gold bangles to be seen upon the august limbs. If, as honest Father Brugnière states, the White Elephants appreciate the honours paid them, regarding such as no more than their due, and are unhappy if treated without proper respect, how sad must be the lot of the present incumbents, shorn of nearly all the attributes which they feel should be theirs, and condemned to a condition of existence hardly superior to that of the common black herd!

At the gates of the city (the railway terminus lies a mile or so without) the procession came to a halt, while the ceremony of blessing the new White Elephant and cleansing him from evil spirits was gone through. On each side of the gate stood a high platform of bamboo, on which long-haired Brahmins sat, surrounded by their paraphernalia. The new animal stopped between these platforms, where it was immediately hemmed in by a crowd of little dirty boys and the inevitable Chinese coolies, who, in fact, with a squad of European camera fiends, now formed the majority of the spectators. The Brahmins sprayed holy water equally upon the elephant and the dirty crowd,



muttering long prayers, the object of their attentions meanwhile surveying the crowd out of an angry little eye, and picking his teeth with a fence rail. At the end of the prayers and exorcisms, according to the custom in many Brahmin ceremonies, captive wild animals were restored to liberty. The wild beasts thus liberated were, *faute de mieux*, two emaciated chickens and a pair of doves. They were thrown into the air with eloquent gesture by the Brahmins, but the chickens, scant of feather, immediately became the prey of a Chinaman below; while the doves took refuge in the nearest house. The powers having been thus propitiated, the new White Elephant was permitted to enter the city, which he did, looting, *en passant*, a fruit-stall in the gateway. The procession then moved on, and shortly arrived at the Palace, where the new-comer was installed in a building which had been prepared for him within the precincts. That evening the King visited him, and formally bestowed upon him the name and title of Phra Sri Sawéte Wa Ni Pa. Thereafter he received his first dose of priestly music, a select choir "singing him to sleep," as it was humorously termed. Being now safely installed, he will be left to the tender mercies of a few slaves, to drag out his miserable existence in a stable of ever-increasing filthiness, too exalted to work, and no longer of sufficient importance to receive any but the most spasmodic attention.

Within recent years the number of White Elephants in Bangkok has been reduced by several deaths, which have mostly passed without notice and without attempt to replace the loss. There are now only five remaining, of which four are oldsters, dating back to the beginning of the present reign or earlier, and one is the young animal whose arrival has here been described. They live in a row of sheds within the walls of the Palace, which sheds, having been once painted and gilded for the reception of the occupant, are thereafter allowed to rot and decay until its death. The quarters of the older elephants are indeed

dark and noisome dungeons, with walls from which the plaster has long since dropped away, and roofs in which the black and rotten rafters can be dimly seen hung with festoons of cobwebs. The animals stand on a raised dais in the centre of the shed, tethered by stout ropes round their forelegs and hobbled. There they have stood, some of them for forty years, ceaselessly marking time and wearing the massive timbers of the platform into deep smooth-sided holes beneath their feet. Round the walls are ranged the beds of half a dozen slaves, the attendants and only companions of the elephant, and in the corners are bundles of grass, heaps of manure, and sodden masses of bamboo shavings accumulated by the slaves, who eke out their miserable food allowance of about twopence a day by basket-making.

A small pagoda-like structure and an iron cage are also to be found in each shed. The former is placed there for the convenience of the good spirits who may wish to come and commune with the elephant. It is well known throughout Indo-China that your spirit is always more at ease in one of these little houses, the familiar "Nat Sin" of Burma and "San Pra Poom" of Siam, than in the open air, for which reason every house and every forest glade is provided with one. The iron cage is for the purpose of holding a white (albino) monkey. In consequence of the legend to the effect that a White Elephant, accompanied by a white monkey, brought honey to Gautama the Buddha at the time of his seclusion in the jungle, a white monkey is looked upon as a companion and friend, and as, in some sort, a protector of White Elephants, and it is therefore considered advisable that a white monkey should, if possible, live with the White Elephants. Unfortunately, albino monkeys are extremely hard to procure, and there is at present only one resident at the Court of Bangkok. He is very old, and, having spent much of his time in the palace for the amusement of the royal children, has long lost all vestige of temper, and invariably attacks anyone coming

within reach of his skinny white arms. His rheumy old pink eyes look angrily out upon a world full of enemies, and he is usually to be found recruiting his health in a cage in the Zoological Gardens, being now required to visit the White Elephants only when they are sick and in need of his mysterious ministrations.

So the once precious White Elephants pass their existence in dirty sheds, grumbling and rocking to and fro from year's end to year's end, varied only by a daily bathe in the river, and an occasional turn out for inspection by foreign visitors to the Court who may express a wish to behold them. No longer for them are the troops of dancing-girls maintained in the Palace, and their ancient place in the processions and pageants of the Court knows them no more. None of those now alive hold a title higher than that of "Phra" (sometimes translated Earl in English), the last Chao Phya (Duke) having died two or three years ago. Their advice on matters concerning the national welfare is never sought now, to which degenerate neglect the catastrophe which overtook the country in its quarrel with France in 1893 was attributed by many.

The annual ceremony of purifying the White Elephants still lingers on, but attracts absolutely no notice from any but the Brahmins who perform it. A number of these adepts visit each elephant in turn, sprinkle it with holy water, and, standing round it in a circle, pass lighted tapers from hand to hand, intoning long prayers as the flame goes round. By these means any bad spirits which may be lurking near are driven away, the force of the exorcism being such as to cause them to shun the neighbourhood during the next twelve months.

The demise of a White Elephant nowadays causes no excitement. On the occasion of the last death a few Brahmins, the white monkey, and some other physicians only attended the death-bed. After the elephant was dead, an excavation was made in the ground near its head and incense burned. The carcass was then covered with white cloth,

dragged on board a barge, and taken away outside the city. It was not cremated, but was left to decay, the bones and tusks being afterwards collected and preserved. For three days the Brahmins remained praying in the stable, in case the ghost of the departed might revisit his earthly home with evil intent. After that period nobody thought any more about the matter, except one old slave who wept, and would not be consoled, not, however, for the departed glory, but because his only friend had been taken from him.

To the majority of English-speaking people, whose knowledge of the White Elephant is chiefly gathered from Mark Twain's instructive narrative of the animal which eluded the vigilance of the detective force of the United States, it is somewhat of a surprise to learn that the White Elephant is not really white, and many travellers in Indo-China have taken much credit to themselves for having made this great discovery. As a matter of fact, however, the word "white," as applied to these animals, is a misleading translation of the native terms by which they are known. In Burmese the usual term is "Sin pyu," "Sin" meaning elephant. The word "pyu" certainly means white, but it also means gray, light-coloured, or fair, for which there are, in Burmese, no distinct terms, being used, for instance, to describe a woman who is less brown than the average. Moreover, in Burmese histories these same elephants are frequently referred to as "Sin Nee," or red elephants. In Siamese the name is "Chang Pueuk," "Chang" meaning elephant. "Pueuk," however, though there is evidence that it once meant white or fair, now means, in Siamese, "albino," and is only used to describe albinos. Thus it will be seen that the words used both in Burmese and Siamese to describe these animals do not necessarily mean white in our sense of the term, and writers who have sought to prove that the famous White Elephants are frauds because they are not pure white have demonstrated only their own ignorance.

In Shway Yoe's immortal work, "The Burman," a

description is given of the various signs by which a White Elephant may be known. There are five toenails on the hind feet instead of four ; skin which shows red when wet ; and an eye of which the iris is yellow, and the outer annulus reddish. The first of these is by no means decisive, as, while none of the White Elephants now in Bangkok have ten toenails on their two hind feet, this variation is frequently found in common black animals. The other two points are, however, necessary and decisive signs of a White Elephant, the eye of an albino being invariably a yellowish-pink, and the skin, however dark, showing more or less flesh colour. There are, in addition to the above, several other minor points. A perfect White Elephant would have pink and yellow eyes, a light reddish-brown skin, white at the edges of the ears and at the tip of the trunk, white toenails, and red hair. None of the Siamese White Elephants have all these points, that with the best skin having black hair, and those with red hair having the skin so dark as to appear to the uninitiated scarcely distinguishable from that of the common animal.

Of course native artists always represent White Elephants as pure white, just as Court painters represent Sovereigns as handsome and fair, or as a photographer embellishes the portraits of his clients. To do otherwise would be, to an Indo-Chinese mind, an uncalled-for exhibition of rudeness, which could please nobody and which might have painful results. Yule tells how a sketch of the White Elephant at Ava, made by one of Phayre's suite, was shown to the Burmese King and by him compared with a picture painted by the Court artist. His Majesty remarked that "the foreigner represented the animal as it was," which statement is naïvely recorded as a compliment to the foreigner, though it was doubtless intended as a stern reproof of barbarous rudeness.

That the White Elephant, as an object of special regard, is doomed to early extinction, can scarcely be doubted. Already, as has been said above, he has disappeared from



the greater part of Indo-China, while from Ceylon, where once he was equally revered, he has long since vanished completely. In Siam, where he still survives, he is falling more and more into neglect, and even there it is probable that, but for the unwillingness of the King to offend the lingering superstitions of the people, he would ere now have been discarded. Here, however, even though another may never be brought to live in the palace, and though the present stables and their occupants may soon be cleared away to make room for a school or a Government office, the White Elephant holds a place in the country from which nothing short of national extinction can oust him. His image is the insignium of an order among the most prized in the kingdom ; he figures prominently in the royal arms, and, on a ground of bright bunting, he floats over forts, palaces, and ships as the ensign of Siam. There the guardian spirit of the country, no longer tolerated by a wide-awake and matter-of-fact generation in the snuffy old bodies of bilious pachyderms, has established itself to exercise an influence over its people, better and more profitable than any which, in the dark days of superstition, led to wars, revolutions, and murders. As the emblem of a new Siam, founded on the old, of modern progress grafted on to an ancient civilization, as a signal of the prosperity of the land and of the happiness of the people, long may the old White Elephant wave on the breezes of Siam !

SIAM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA<sup>1</sup>

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES).

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

B.—THE FIRST CHINESE EMBASSY TO CH'IH-T'U (SUKHADA),  
A.D. 607.

## YANG-TI'S NEW DEPARTURE.

SOON after having ascended the throne the Emperor Yang-ti\* looked out for intelligent and hardy men to send out to visit the distant countries and establish relations with them.

## THE ENVOYS TO CH'IH-T'U.

On the third year of *Ta-yeh* [A.D. 607]† two mandarins, Chang-chün and Wang-chün-chên by name, having proffered their services to proceed to *Ch'ih-t'u*,‡ the Emperor very gladly accepted their offer, and charged them with a mission for the King of that country, to whom he sent presents, consisting of all sorts of objects, over five thousand in number.§

## LEAVE CANTON.

On the tenth moon|| the two envoys with their suite embarked at the

\* Of the *Sin* dynasty; reigned A.D. 605-617.

† The *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* (see *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 379) has: "In the fourth year of *Ta-yeh* [*i.e.*, in A.D. 608] an envoy was sent to *Ch'ih-t'u Chih-lo-chi*." This difference in dates may have originated from some authors having simply registered the date of the return of the mission in A.D. 608, whence some careless compilers argued that the mission must have gone out and returned within that same year. Most texts are agreed that the despatch outwards to Siam of that mission took place in the third year of *Ta-yeh*=A.D. 607. The feature that most strikes the reader in the above extract from the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* is, however, the novel designation of Siam, or its capital, as *Ch'ih-t'u Chih-lo-chi*, which does not seem to occur in any other Chinese book so far examined by European scholars. It is not at all clear what *Chih-lo-chi* may mean or represent; its pronunciation is: C., *Chi-lo-kei*; H., *Chi-lo-ki*; A., *Tri-la-ke*; K., *Ch'i-ra-na* } -*kie*;

J. *Chi-ra-kei*. The Sanskrit-Pāli equivalents ought to be *Ci-ra-ka*, *Ci-la-ka*, *Ti-li-ka*. *Ti-lo-ka*, *Triloka* are less to be expected; neither is it much likely that *Chih-lo-chi* or *Chi-lo-kei* are intended to represent—though in a mutilated form—*Svarga*- (or *Sagga*)-*loka*, the name of Swankhalōk, thus making *Ch'ih-t'u-Chih-lo-chi*=*Sukhda* [or *Sukhada*] [*Svar*]ga-loka, *Sukhadakhalōk*. Further investigation is needed.

‡ De Rosny (*op. cit.*, pp. 205, 206) has: "Le *Tun-tien-tchou-sse* Tchang-tsun, et le *Yu-pou-tchou-sse* Wang Kiun-tching offrirent à l'empereur de se rendre en ambassade au Siam." Mr. E. H. Parker's translation of extract No. 363 from the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* in the *China Review* (vol. xiv, p. 40) runs thus: "During the period *Ta-yeh* [A.D. 605-17], of the Sin, a clerk in the military colonial office asked to be sent as envoy to *Ch'ih-t'u* State."

§ De Rosny (*op. cit.*, p. 206) translates: "Il donna à Tchang-tsun, et à chaque personnage de sa mission, cent pièces de soie, et lui envoya cinq mille cadeaux pour le roi de Siam."

|| This must have been in November, A.D. 607, as it is said that the Emperor Fei-ti, of the Wei dynasty, fixed, in A.D. 240, the beginning of the new civil year at the date of the

<sup>1</sup> For the first portion of this article see our number for October, 1900, pp. 365-394.

port of *Nan-hai* [Canton], and, assisted by a favourable wind, reached *Chiau-shih Shan*.<sup>\*</sup> Thence they steered in a south-easterly direction, and cast anchor at the island of *Ling-chia Po-pa-to* [*Linga-parvata*], whose western coast faces *Lin-i* [Campā], and on whose hilly heights exists a temple.† Continuing their route in a southerly direction, and after having

sun's entrance into the zodiacal sign of *Pisces*, i.e., about February. The tenth Chinese month of A.D. 607 then probably coincided with the moon which began on October 24 and ended on November 22 (old style) of that year. This is the season at which the north-east monsoon prevails in the China Sea, a circumstance that has always been taken advantage of by the junks from the China coast to proceed southwards to the Straits and the Gulf of Siam. The south-west monsoon was availed of for the return voyage; thus the trading-vessels bound to China usually left Siam in May or June. When on the outward journey from the China coast, they generally reached Siam in January or February. It is therefore evident that the Chinese embassy of A.D. 607 must have left Canton about November, in order to take advantage of the north-east monsoon, and must have reached Siam in December of that same year or early in January, A.D. 608.

<sup>\*</sup> *Chiau-shih* Mountain, or else Island, as *shan* is often employed in the sense of "island." *Chiau-shih* means "burnt stones," but here it is probably the phonetic rendering of a native place-name. C., *Tsiu-shek*; H., *Tsiau-shak*; A., *Tieu-l'ak*; K., *Ch'o-sōk*; J., *Shō seki*. From the fact that from the hilly cape or island so named the junk which brought the Chinese envoys steered a south-eastern course, it is evident that *Chiau-shih Shan* must be situated somewhere about the coast of Annam above Tourane, this being the point where that coast takes a north-western direction, so that one must steer to the south-east in order to keep clear of it. *Chiau-shih Shan* may thus be provisionally identified with the island of *Tseu*, noted *Hon Tseu* in the maps, lying  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-east of *Mui* (Cape) *Duong*, in the Ha-tinh district. A further investigation may lead to a more satisfactory solution of this geographical puzzle. De Rosny (*op. cit.*, p. 206) adds that the Chinese envoys reached *Chiau-shih Shan* after twenty days' navigation from Canton.

† *Ling-chia Po-pa-to* undoubtedly represents the Pāli *Linga-pabbata* and the Sanskrit *Linga-parvata*—that is "mountain of the *linga*." In this case it does not seem to be a question of an island, but of a headland (*shan* being also used in that sense), and this is undoubtedly Cape Varella, so called by the Portuguese from the conspicuous rock, resembling a pagoda, which crowns its summit. Crawford ("Embassy to Siam and Cochinchina," vol. i., p. 352) terms this headland "the most remarkable point of Cochinchinese navigation," and adds that the rock which surmounts it represents "the appearance of a huge broken and falling column." Such being the case, the idea of a *linga* would at once suggest itself to the minds of the natives of the country—the ancient Chām—who, it is known, made such a symbol an object of special worship. Hence, the cape would be at once styled *Linga-parvata*. A shrine may have also been erected at that spot, although there does not appear to be any trace of such a structure ever having existed there, or else the temple mentioned in the Chinese narrative may simply mean the natural pagoda-like rock forming such a conspicuous landmark on that headland. My identification of *Ling-chia Po-pa-to* with Cape Varella receives further confirmation from the fact that, several centuries after the first Chinese embassy to *Ch'ih-t'u* took place, the Chronicle of the Yüan dynasty mentions a point on the Cochinchinese coast by the name of *Ling Shan*, towards which ships from China steered their course. It is evident that this *Ling Shan* (*Linga* Mountain, or *Linga* Headland) is one and the same—though referred to in a shorter and more Sinicized form—with the *Ling-chia Po-pa-to* of the older Chinese account. And Mr. W. F. Meyers, who made a profound study of Chinese explorations of the Indian Ocean, has seen reason, as he states in the *China Review* (vol. iv., pp. 173, 174 note), to identify *Ling Shan* with Cape Varella. His evidence thus comes indirectly to corroborate the result we have arrived at quite independently on the basis of the older Chinese narrative now before us. There remains,

left *Shih-tsz-shih*\* behind them, they met with a good number of islands and islets lying very close to each other. They sailed for another two or three days, and then they sighted, in the distance and westwards, the mountains of the kingdom of *Lang-ya-hsiu*.† Finally, skirting round the

however, the question as to which was the place where the junk that brought the Chinese envoys actually did cast anchor. There is, indeed, an anchorage northward of the cape, but this is only available during the south-west monsoon period. The other nearest anchorage is at Vung Ro, or Ro Bay, which lies southwards of the high land of Cape Varella, and this, I take it, must have been the place resorted to. The "China Sea Directory" (fourth edition, 1899, vol. ii., p. 405) thus speaks about it: "Vung Ro is one of the safest harbours on this coast, and being near the inshore route up and down the China Sea, is much resorted to in bad weather by the trading junks."

\* C., *Sz-tsz-shih*; K., *Sa-cha-shih*; J., *Shi-shi-seki*; A., *Shi-tih-t'ak*. Here it is clearly a question of a *shih*, or "rock," by the name of *Shih-tsz*, *Sa-chi*, or something like. I surmise that it may be *Pulo Sapatu*—i.e., *Sapatu*, or Shoe Island (Malay, *Spatu*, from the Portuguese *Sapato*=a shoe), of the Catwick group, a barren rock, so called because, when viewed from some directions, it resembles a shoe. Of course, this is but a modern name. What its ancient appellation may have been it is difficult at present to find out; the Malays, Annamese, and Portuguese have either perverted or innovated most of the place-names on the coast of Indo-China. If not *Pulo Sapatu*, *Shih-tsz-shih* may be *Pulo Cécir de Mer*, lying not far off to the north of it. This is another modern name substituted for some native term which it is now impossible to determine. Sailing-vessels bound from China to the Gulf of Siam during the north-east monsoon always pass either to the eastward or westward of the Catwick Islands and *Pulo Cécir de Mer*. De Rosny states (*loc. cit.*, p. 206) having found a variant in the *Kuang-tung Tung-chi*, according to which the name of the rock referred to in the Chinese narrative might be read as *Simha-sila*—i.e., "Lion Rock"; but he neither gives the original characters nor makes any attempt at locating the rock so called. I know of four "Lion Rocks" on the coast of Indo-China—to wit, one within Van Phong Bay, below Cape Varella; the second, submerged, in the Toan channel leading to Nha-trang Bay, a little further south; the third at *Lâm-Sing* (Sinha), at the western point of entrance to the Chanthabūn River (east coast, Gulf of Siam); and the fourth (a rocky islet called *Koh Sing*) in front of Bāng-Tap'hān Bay (west coast, Gulf of Siam). Neither of these suits the position indicated by the Chinese account. There is, on the other hand, *Sèche* islet, near *Sèche Point*, to the northern side of Nha-trang Bay, the name of which—given that it is a French travesty of some local term, and not a purely French word—bears a striking resemblance to *Shi-tsz*, the rock referred to in the Chinese narrative. Too much stress cannot, however, be laid upon such haphazard homonymies, and, besides, *Sèche* islet is too far up the coast to exactly suit our purpose. I conclude, therefore, in favour of either *Pulo Cécir de Mer* or *Pulo Sapatu*, until a more plausible identification is pointed out.

† These are the mountains of the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula at *C'hump'hōn* and the Kra Isthmus, the region formerly known as *Pallanka*, *Palanga*, *Balanga*, or *Kra-balanga*, *Krabalanka*, which I have elsewhere identified as the site of Ptolemy's *Balangka* (in the Golden Khersonese), and of one of the chief cities of Hwen T'sang's "Kingdom of *Kamalanka*." The position of *Lang-ya-hsiu*, *Lang-chia-hsiu* (Lankasu), or *Lang-ya*—as this name is severally spelt—has formed the object of much speculation among Sinologists, who never succeeded in establishing it with any degree of precision, some inclining, like Groeneveldt, to fix it on the north coast of Java ("Essays relating to Indo-China," 2nd series, vol. i., p. 137), and others, like De Rosny, to locate it in the province of Ha-tien, on the west coast of Kamboja (*op. cit.*, p. 255)—all mere guesswork. I think, however, that I have now collected sufficient evidence to solve with unmistakable certainty and accuracy this puzzling and intricate question; for not only does the name of the ancient *Pallanka*, *Balanga*, or *Kamalanka* kingdom survive in the region of the Kra Isthmus in toponymics like *Lang-khita* or *Lan-gya* (the *Lan-ya* or *Len-ya* of maps and of the British Burmā Gazetteer); *Nankasi* or *Langasi* (Ἰνδονάσι, the *Mōn* name

southern side of the island of *Chi-lung*,\* they reached the shores of *Ch'ih-tu*.

for Tenasserim); *Jelinga*, *Jalinguer*, *Jallenga* (the halting-place on the overland route from Tenasserim to the Gulf of Siām, called *Galenga* by Tosi, "Dell' India Orientale," Rome, 1669, vol. ii., p. 70, and others); but it is to be found in almost the very same form given by Ma Tuan-lin, belonging to two islets in the Gulf of Siām and in front of the coast of C'hump'hōn. These two islets are to this day termed *Koh Lankachlu Yāi* and *Koh Lankachlu Nōi*, i.e., respectively, the Greater and Lesser *Lankachlu* Islands. Their name is severally spelt *Lankachlu* and *Lankachilu* (ລັງកັចລູ). They are really situated opposite Swaī Bay, a little below C'hump'hōn Bay. The former, being about the most renowned among the islands of that coast for its edible bird-nests, must soon have become known to the Chinese. In the charts of the Gulf of Siām its name is, as very often happens with toponymies of this region handled by persons unacquainted with the native language, most terribly deformed and mutilated, so as to render it utterly unrecognisable. It is spelt *Koh Katu*, this being intended, of course, to represent *Koh Kachlu*, the abridged way in which it is sometimes pronounced by ignorant people not natives of the place. The same spelling has been adopted in the "Chinese Sea Directory" (4th edition of 1899, vol. ii., p. 339), while no mention is made either in that work or in the charts about the lesser island, i.e., *Koh Lankachlu Nōi*. Owing to these drawbacks, it would be next to impossible for anyone not intimately acquainted with that coastline to recognise either of the two islets in the *Koh Katu* of the charts, and in the latter distorted denomination the vestiges of the *Lankasu* or *Lang-ya-hsiu* of the Chinese. Now, however, that the exact location of the place referred to under this name—very creditably rendered for Chinese, by the way—has been determined, we are in a position to know with precision the route steered by the junk which brought the Chinese envoys, and we are placed in possession of direct proof that the latter really proceeded to the upper part of the Gulf of Siām, and in no other direction, whereas before the place of destination of the envoys was conjectured to be Siām on circumstantial evidence alone. Decidedly the course steered was not the best to be taken during the north-east monsoon, modern sailing-vessels proceeding at this season, after having rounded Cape Kamboja and passed Pulo Obi, by way of Pulo Panjang and Pulo Way direct for Cape Liant and the anchorage at the mouth of the Bāngkōk River. But it is known that in navigating the Gulf of Siām the Chinese had a pronounced penchant for the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, which came therefore to be proverbially designated "that side where the Chinese make their navigation" (see "Commentarios" of D'Albuquerque, quoted in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siām," p. 26). Such a preference was undoubtedly due to the overland trade route then existing across the isthmus of Kra, through which passed a considerable part of the traffic between India and the Farther East, a circumstance which attracted vessels—Chinese junks in particular—at C'hump'hōn, the eastern terminus of that route, the edible bird-nests and the trade with Ligure and neighbouring petty States proving, no doubt, an additional allurements. Thus Chinese vessels were wont from the early days to call at the ports of the eastern seaboard of the Malay Peninsula, and to navigate along it in preference to the opposite coast of the Gulf of Siām; and when the causes that originally led them to take that route ceased in a great measure to exist, they continued to steer the old course out of homage to tradition, just as they have done in all their matters, whether commercial or political, for ages past.

\* *Chi-lung Tau*, *tau* being a term denoting a rocky island—C., *Kai-lung Tou*; Ann., *Ke-lung Dau*. The meaning is "Hen-coop" or "Cock's-cage" Island, but the rendering may be, as nearly always is the case, phonetic. Should the present instance prove to be an exception, then the island just referred to might be identified with *Koh Rang-kāi*, i.e., "Hen's-nest Island," forming part of a group of four islets lying almost due south of Lām (Cape) C'hōng P'hrāh, some twenty miles above C'hump'hōn Bay. The other islands of the group are similarly named *Koh Rang* ("Nest Island," well noted for edible nests); *Koh Rang-pet* ("Duck's-nest Island"), etc. Of course these names are Siāmesse, but the older designations of these islets may have had the same meaning. A



## THE WELCOME.

The King of *Ch'ih-tu* sent out the Brāhman *Chiu-mo-lo\** with thirty boats to meet the Chinese embassy. Conch-shells were blown and drums beaten as a token of rejoicing. A golden chain was brought in order to moor the junk which had conveyed the imperial envoys,† and to these

vessel steering up the east coast of the Malay Peninsula must of necessity keep off this tiny insular group before passing Lām C'hōng P'hrāḥ. The islets referred to are rocky, and well answer to the description and position set forth in the Chinese text. The spelling *Chi-lung* (or *Ki-lung*) adopted in the latter is identical with that employed in writing the old name of Formosa (*Ki-lung*). For a probable confusion of this island in the Gulf of Siām with Formosa, see preceding note.

\* C., <sup>Kau</sup><sub>K'au</sub> } -mo-lo; K., *Ku-ma-ra*. The name represented is either *Kamala* or *Kumara*. *Indrakumara* and *Candrakumara* were in the old days the titles of two high dignitaries at the Siāmesse Court. Either of them may be implied here. Chāu P'hayā Candrakumāra was the one-day King who performed the Ploughing Festival in the month of Vaisākha according to the *Kot-Monthieraban* or "Palace Law" of A.D. 1360. (See "Collection of Old Laws of Siām," vol. ii., p. 129.)

† Here De Rosny adds a most important detail, to wit: "Au bout d'un mois, celui-ci [le navire] arriva à la capitale" (*op. cit.*, p. 208). It would be well to verify whether this passage—which is omitted by Ma Tuan-lin—really exists in the original account of the embassy given in the annals of the Sui dynasty. De Rosny merely translates his narrative from the *Tung-hsi Yang-k'ao*, another Chinese cyclopædia; but as he says, however (pp. 212, 213, note), that Ma Tuan-lin, and other compilers, abridged and altered the original account, we must take his version as the most complete and reliable. One month would be exactly the time required by a sea-craft of shallow draft to cover the distance between the mouth of the Mě-nam River and Sukhothai, wherefore it will be seen that the capital of *Ch'ih-tu* was really situated as much inland as that; and under such circumstances Sukhothai would geographically meet the case.

Furthermore, De Rosny follows immediately after this with another passage to the effect that "Le roi de Siam envoya son fils le Nayaka recevoir Tchang-tsun et le complimenter," and adds in a note below (p. 208): "Il n'y a pas à douter cependant qu'il s'agisse ici du fils du roi de Tehih-tou, et je pourrais citer, au besoin, plusieurs auteurs Chinois très autorisés qui viendraient appuyer cette affirmation." This is all very well, but nothing but an examination of the original version in the annals of the Sui dynasty, from which all "Chinese authors" referred to by De Rosny have drawn their own accounts, can clear up this point; and even then we may still remain in doubt as to the *Nayaka* here referred to really being the King's son. For although this title of *Naiik* or *Nayaka* was—as we have seen above—also applied to Princes, it more especially designated, at the period treated on here, a district Governor, and in this particular instance the Governor of the capital, or *Nagara-pala*. Although governorships of the principal provinces were conferred upon the King's sons, following in this a time-honoured custom of Brāhmanic India (of which Asoka and his son Kunāla, each appointed in his turn Viceroy of Panjāb, may be cited as instances), it does not appear that the governorship of the capital was ever entrusted to a royal Prince.<sup>1</sup> Nominally this honorific duty belonged to the King himself, who was the sovereign ruler of his own capital; but practically the office was conferred upon one of the Ministers or high dignitaries of the kingdom, who acted on behalf and under the direct orders of the Sovereign. Under such circumstances it is but natural that the *Nayaka*, as *Nagara-pala*, or "Governor of the capital," should

<sup>1</sup> An instance is, however, mentioned in the Mahāvamsa, chap. x., of Paṇḍukābhaya, appointing his eldest uncle Abhaya to the post of *Nagaraguttika*, i.e., "Conservator of the city," or "Governor of the capital" (Anurādhapura). From that time, it is stated, there have been *Nagaraguttikas* in the capital; but whether these were always Princes or not does not appear. In Siām it was only during the present reign, and scarcely earlier than ten years ago, that a royal Prince (one of the King's brothers) was appointed *Nagara-pala*.

were offered two golden flasks shaped like a crescent, and containing scented oil, as well as eight golden bowls, scented waters, and four pieces of white cloth, the whole to serve for their ablutions.\*

#### THE AUDIENCE.

That same day at two o'clock the *Na-hsie-chia* [Nāyaka ?] came to greet the envoys, bringing with him two elephants in harness, and several umbrellas made of peacock's feathers.† He also brought a large golden tray ornamented with golden flowers, designed to receive the imperial letters.‡ Male and female musicians, one hundred in number, filled the air with the strains of conch-shells and drums. Two Brāhman§ headed the pageant, which wound its way to the royal palace. Here Chang-chün delivered the imperial missives, and these were carried into the throne hall, where the King was waiting seated upon a platform. Below this sat all the dignitaries of his court. After the reading of the imperial letters, Chang-chün and his suite were introduced, and made to take seats in turn. A concert of Indū music then followed. After the audience Chang-chün and his followers returned to the quarters which had been assigned to them.|| The King then charged several Brāhman with the

be despatched to meet the embassy; whereas the sending of the King's son to meet an ambassador not of royal blood before the latter has been received in audience by the Sovereign is altogether against the rules of Oriental etiquette. As will be seen in the sequel, the *Nayaka* was for a second time that same day despatched to meet the embassy, and to escort it to the palace. This circumstance even more plainly demonstrates, if there were any further need, that the *Nayaka* was merely a dignitary of the State, and not a Prince of the blood, as no personage of royal descent would be employed twice on such an errand, which was more properly delegated to the Governor of the capital or to one of the Ministers of the State. I conclude, therefore, that either the Chinese envoys must have been mistaken, or that this story of the King's son must be a later interpolation undeserving of credit.

\* It must be borne in mind that the presentation to guests of water for ablutions is part of the hospitable ceremonies enjoined by the Indū ritual. On such occasions perfumed oil, scented waters and all the requisites for bathing were, naturally, offered. This practice has long ago become obsolete in Siam and adjoining countries, being replaced by the presentation of the traditional betel-chewing *nécessaire*, tea, and cheroots. Water-jars with a can or bowl are, however, kept near the entrance to every house for the convenience of intending visitors to wash their feet and hands before going in.

† These are called *Mayūra-chatta*—i.e., "peacock [feathers] umbrellas"—but they are in reality—at least, at the present day—standards formed of a peacock's tail tied up in a bunch shaped like an ear of corn. As insignia of royal rank, they are usually carried before royalty, and stuck upright at either side of the throne on ceremonial occasions. For a description and representation of them, see my work on the "Tonsure Ceremony," quoted above, p. 119, and Plate X. in the foreground.

‡ This golden tray was either double or triple storied, according to the rank of the Sovereign who sent the letter. The one employed for carrying the letter of Louis XIV. to the King of Siam in 1687 was triple-storied, and may be seen represented in La Loubère's "Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam," London, 1693, plate facing p. 7.

§ Bearing the titles respectively of *Raja-manū* and *Devamanan* at the time of Ayuthia. Both carried a nosegay of golden flowers in their hands while leading the ambassadors to the audience-hall.

|| "Every foreign Ambassador is lodged and maintained by the King of Siam" (La Loubère, *op. cit.*, p. 108).

task of looking after them and providing for their wants; moreover, he sent the ambassadors choice eatables arranged upon leaf-platters.\* Taking occasion from this circumstance, the Grand-Master† said to Chang-chün: "Now we are the subjects of the Great Kingdom; we are no longer [the men] of the [little] kingdom of *Ch'ih-t'u*."‡

#### THE BANQUET.

A few days later Chang-chün and his suite were invited to a royal feast. A guard of honour was told off to escort them, and the same marks of respect were shown them as heretofore. Two low tables had been placed in front of the throne.§ On each of these was brought a gigantic leaf-platter [*krathong*], about fifteen square feet in magnitude, replenished with upwards of a hundred varieties of eatables, among which were rice tinged with four different colours, viz., yellow, white, violet, and red; beef, mutton, and pork; fish, turtle, and crustaceans.|| The King beckoned to

\* These leaf-platters are now called *Krathong*. They are generally square-shaped, and made of plantain-leaves stitched together by the insertion of small wooden pegs. Such leaf-plates and dishes practically constitute the Indā "crockery," used wherever Brāhmanic tenets predominate. The object of their employment is to avoid the defilement which the food would receive if served on a plate which others had used, however well it may have been washed. This object is attained by means of the said leaf-platters, which serve but once, and are thrown away after each meal. For the same reason oblations to the deities are made in leaf-platters up to this day in Siam, although the use of the same for domestic purposes has long been discontinued. Through the narrative of the Chinese ambassadors of the seventh century A.D. we are thus informed that at that period the people of Siam, though devout Buddhists, still adhered to the Brāhmanic custom in the matter of food and domestic "crockery."

† The personage thus referred to must have been the *Maha Rajaguru Vidhi*—i.e., the Chief Purohita and Grand-Master of all religious (Brāhmanic) ceremonies. De Rosny translates, in fact (*op. cit.*, p. 210), "le Grand-prêtre."

‡ This passage is rather puzzling, as the translator himself acknowledges, and it is doubtful whether the correct meaning has been grasped. De Rosny, who interprets it in a similar manner from the *Tung-hsi Yang-k'ao*, gives the following additional sentences from that work, purporting to be the second part of the Grand-Master's utterance: "Bien que ce repas soit frugal, je désire qu'il y soit pris part à la pensée du Grand Royaume." This peroration, omitted by Ma Tuan-lin, does not throw any further light on the meaning of the rather enigmatic exordium of the High Priest; and De Rosny, well aware of this, tries to explain it in a note as follows (p. 210): "Dans la pensée du Grand-Prêtre, cette désignation [*Ch'ih-t'u*] rappelait l'époque durant laquelle le Siam, qui ne s'était pas encore trouvé en relations avec la Chine, n'avait pas acquis, par ce fait, le rang de grande nation civilisée." This remark, however, appears to be not quite to the point, because Siam as well as China was then imbibing her civilization, and the rudiments of the useful arts and sciences, from India, which would, therefore, in the eyes of the Siamese, be regarded as the more highly civilized nation. In conclusion, it is evident that the passage containing the utterance above referred to must be corrupt, and if not, it must have been modified by the Chinese historians so as to suit their peculiar views.

§ Hervey de Saint-Denys has, instead of low tables, "lits," and De Rosny "sofas." The Chinese term thus rendered is *ch'uang*, which means, according to Giles's Dictionary, besides a bed or a couch, "any board or framework on which things rest." What is evidently meant here is a low bench or table such as is used in Siam and India even to this day to squat upon and partake at the same time of food and drink if required.

|| De Rosny has, with a slight variation (p. 211): "un plateau . . . couvert de gâteaux de quatre couleurs, jaunes, blancs, violets et rouges, et de plus de cent mets de bœuf, de mouton, de poisson, de tortue, de porc et de crustacés." It is therefore

Chang-chün to accommodate himself upon one of the tables; all the rest of the guests squatted down upon mats\* stretched over the floor. Each drank from a golden bowl.† Female musicians enlivened the entertainment from time to time with musical performances.‡

#### THE LEAVE-TAKING.

After having gratified the ambassadors with magnificent presents, the King decided that the *Na-hsie-ka* [Nāyaka?] was to accompany them on their return journey to China, in order to offer as *tribute*§ various productions of *Ch'ih-t'u*—to wit, camphor, caps ornamented with *hibiscus* of gold, etc.|| With this object in view, the King ordered to be prepared several golden plates cast in imitation of *to-lo* leaves, with fibres delicately represented.¶ Upon these plates the reply to the Emperor was inscribed, and sent to him enclosed in a golden casket.

probable that the expression "rice tinged with four different colours" is to be taken to mean sweetmeats, generally made with rice, and hence called *Khâu-nom* (literally, "sweetened rice"), and by abbreviation *Khanom*.

\* This is, of course, in agreement with Oriental etiquette, according to which the height of seats must be in direct proportion to the height of rank.

† This particular is to be remarked—i.e., that although plantain-leaf "crockery" was used in eating, metallic vessels were employed in drinking.

‡ The account translated by De Rosny here has the additional remark that (p. 211) "il régna la plus parfaite courtoisie." Just so—similar to that of the diplomatic symposia of our days.

§ It will be noticed that here the word *tribute*—which I have purposely italicized—already occurs, although no act of homage had as yet been performed, and the first overtures to establish mutual relations had come from China, and not from Siam. It is, however, already well known what is the construction that should be put upon the word *kung* ("tribute") occurring in Chinese historical literature. We shall have to revert to this subject later on, when treating of the modern intercourse between the two countries.

|| Camphor was probably obtained from the districts to the north-east of Luang P'rah Bāng, as it is up to this day, especially in the neighbourhood of Miāng Hét, lying at about 100 miles to the north-east of that capital of Eastern Laos. See, in fact, what Dr. Lefèvre says in his "Voyage au Laos" (Paris, 1898, p. 196, footnote): "Les environs de Muong-Hett sont couverts de brousse parmi laquelle on remarque de nombreux petits arbustes couverts de feuilles lancéolées, velues et blanchâtres. C'est la plante connue sous le nom de 'camphrée.' Les feuilles broyées entre les doigts exhalent une forte odeur de camphre. Les Chinois en retirent, par l'ébullition et la condensation de la vapeur, un produit cristallin analogue au camphre de Bornéo, et qu'ils vendent très cher." At a later period it was also procured from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, as it is termed *P'him-sen*—i.e., *P'an-seur* or *Barūs* camphor—in the lists of articles sent as presents to the Chinese Emperor in more recent times.

¶ *To-lo* here means either the *tala* (Borassus) or the *tali* (Corypha) palms, whose leaves were and still are used for writing on. Evidently, in the old days, the golden plates on which royal letters were written were so fashioned as to imitate in every particular the natural olla leaves. This practice was not followed in more recent times, for although the material employed was the same, this was shaped into a plain rectangular plate without any veining. The characters were written in vermilion by means of a wooden pen, and the golden slip was then rolled up and enclosed in an ivory casket, cylindrical in shape, which was in its turn placed in a small pouch made of brocaded silk, duly sealed at its mouth with the *rajasika* (lion) seal. At the time of the Chinese embassy now described, we are told that the casket containing the royal letter was of gold, and not of ivory, which is quite possible.

## THE DEPARTURE.

At the sound of drums and conch-shells, and with the same ceremonial as on the arrival, Chang-chün and his suite were, by the King's order, re-escorted by the Brāhmanas to their embarking-place.\*

## THE RETURN JOURNEY.

When far out at sea they noticed shoals of green fish gambolling on the surface of the water. After ten days' sailing they sighted the mountains which border the south-eastern coast of the country of *Lin-i*.† The water of the sea in this place is yellow and nauseating, a phenomenon which is ascribed to the excreta of a large fish,‡ and which was observed for a whole day. Gradually, by steering a northward course, they came within a shorter distance from the coast, and thus they arrived in due course at a sea-port of *Chiao-chih*.§

\* De Rosny has a more lengthy description (p. 211): "Le roi de Siam ordonna à des brahmanes de prendre des fleurs parfumées, et d'accompagner l'ambassadeur, enjouant de la conque et du tambour, jusqu'au lieu de son embarquement." We see from this passage that the Brāhmanas escorting the ambassador on his return carried flowers in their hands, which were probably not natural blossoms, but imitations in gold of the latter, as we have already observed in a former page. The playing of drums and conches (which are the well-known shells of the *saukha* variety usually termed chank-shells) is an honour allowed only to the most distinguished personages.

† *Champa*, now Cochin China. The mountains alluded to here must be those of the present district of Binh-thuan.

‡ This phenomenon is even to this day frequently to be seen in the gulfs both of Siam and Tonkin. The Siamese call the excreta *Khi Pla-wan*, thus ascribing them to the *vala*, i.e., the whale fish.

§ That is, Tonkin. It is to be regretted that the name of the port visited in this region has not been recorded. It does not seem to be the same place called *Chian-shih Shan* apparently touched on the outward route. Elsewhere Ma Tuan-lin states (Saint-Denys' translation, pp. 460, 489) that the Chinese embassy called on their homeward route at the country of *Lo-ch'a* (Rākṣas), which took occasion from this visit to establish relations with the empire by despatching a mission thither. This important detail has been omitted in the account of the embassy to Siam, and as no name has been given for the port on the coast of Tonkin touched at, we are left in the dark as to whether the country of *Lo-ch'a* was visited previous to calling at that port or subsequently, and as a consequence we obtain no further clue to the whereabouts of this unknown country than we can gather from the confused and scanty hints given elsewhere in Chinese literature. All that we are told is this: the country of *Lo-ch'a* is situated to the east of *P'o-li* (Ma Tuan-lin, p. 489); the State of *P'o-li* is reached by going from Tonkin by sea south past *Ch'ih-t'u* and *Tan-tan* (*P'ei-wên Yün-fu*, quoted in *China Review*, vol. xiii., p. 337; and Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 205); *P'o-li* lies to the south of *Ko-lo*, at a distance of ten days (Groeneveldt, *ibid.*, p. 242), and so forth. Thus we get into a vicious circle, and become entangled in a labyrinth of geographical *Chinoiseries* from which it would take eons to extricate one's self. *P'o-li* has been too much complacently identified by Sinologists with the island of Bali. My researches lead me to believe that in most cases the country so named is instead *P'érak* (Pera) on the Malay Peninsula, wherefore *Lo-ch'a*, the land of the *Rākṣasas*, would in such instances correspond to Pahang. Of course, other places, among which the islands of the Andaman-Nicobar group, have been so designated. It is easy to see that on its homeward journey, which was, no doubt, made at the beginning of the south-west monsoon season of A.D. 608, the Chinese embassy must have, both by tradition and by the force of circumstances, taken the route along the eastern coast of the



## THEIR RECEPTION AT THE CHINESE COURT.

In the spring of the following year [A.D. 608?],\* at *Hung-nung*,† they were granted an audience by the Emperor,‡ to whom the *Na-hsie-ka* [Nāyaka?] was introduced. The Emperor betokened his high satisfaction by bestowing upon Chang-chün and Wang-chün mandarin ranks of a very high order.§ The *Nāyaka* and his countrymen who had followed in his

Malay Peninsula, which gave it the opportunity of calling at Pahang, the land of the wild Negrito tribes, styled *Girgassii*, or *Gargasi* (i.e., *Raksasas*) in the Keddah Annals, and nowadays called *Jakun* (Yaksas?). Thence a north-eastern course would be steered for Pulo Condore and the Catwicks, the coast of Binh-thuan being thus soon sighted, as recorded in the narrative. It seems quite unreasonable that at such a season the Chinese ambassadors would go so far out of their way as to visit the country of *Lo-ch'a*, given that this was really located to the east of Bali—say at Lomboek or Sumbawa. Neither can it be supposed that such a land could be visited after calling at a port of Tonkin, as we would then have to assume for it a location in the Philippines, which would entirely disagree with the data referred to above, all concurring in showing it to be somewhere to the south of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Siām), of *Ko-lo* (identified by me with Kalantan), and of *Tan-tan* (probably Pulo Tantalum, facing the coast between Ligore and Singora).

\* It is doubtful whether the year following the one of the outward journey is meant, i.e., A.D. 608. The context would seem to point to the year following the return of the embassy, i.e., A.D. 609, as being the correct date. This conjecture is supported by the following considerations: The embassy left China—as we have pointed out—about November, A.D. 607, and must have reached Siām towards the end of that year, or early in January of the year following (A.D. 608). One month was spent in the journey up-river ere the capital was reached, and the formalities of the reception and entertainment of the ambassadors, together with the preparation of the presents, letter of reply, etc., to be sent out with them, must have occupied—seeing the *festina lente* manner in which such affairs are proceeded with in Oriental countries—another two or three months. Thus we get to May, A.D. 608, the probable date of the embassy's departure from Siām. Then there was the time occupied in the journey out, including a perhaps rather protracted stay at the country of *Lo-ch'a*, so that we see that the envoys could not very well have got back to Canton before the month of July or August of that same year. The formalities to be accomplished there on arrival, and the time they would have to wait until the regular authorization came from the Court for them and the foreign envoys to proceed to the place where the Court resided, together with the time occupied on the journey thither overland, would require another three months at least; so that we see that the date at which they obtained the audience referred to in the narrative must have been the spring of A.D. 609. The account translated by De Rosny gives, however (p. 212), the spring of the sixth year *Ta-yeh* (= A.D. 610) as the date at which such an event took place. Though seemingly too long, this delay is not improbable, as on account of internal perturbations, or of the unsettled state of the country, embassies from foreign States were often made to wait some time at Canton ere they were allowed to proceed up to the capital.

† *Hung-nung* is now called *Hua-chow*, and is an ancient town in Shensi, where the Court resided for some time. It is situated to the east of Hsi-an Fu, in the T'ung-chow district. I had to look out for this information in Playfair's "Cities and Towns of China" (No. 2,357), as both Hervey de Saint-Denys and De Rosny leave us in the dark as to the present name and location of this town.

‡ Yang-ti (A.D. 605-617), *vide supra*. This ruler was one of the most enlightened that China had, and during his short reign he did more for the establishment of relations with foreign countries and for the internal economy of his own, including works both of public utility and embellishment, than a score of his predecessors of other dynasties put together.

§ The title of *Che-ki-tu-hoei*, says the translator (p. 475), whatever that may mean, and he does not appear to be cognizant of its signification, either.

train also received honorific distinctions and magnificent presents, each according to his rank.\*

### C.—ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

#### HISTORICAL DEDUCTIONS.

The foregoing narrative puts us in possession of the following historical facts and dates :

1. A.D. 591—the King of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhada) relinquishes the throne and enters (Buddhist) monastical orders. His son *Chü-tan* (Gotama), otherwise known as *Li-fu-to-sai* (Raivata-cakra, Nivātāsoka, Nivṛttasatru, Hṛibhadracakra), succeeds him, and has three Queens (of the right, left, and centre), all daughters of rulers of the neighbouring States. He resides at *Sêng-chih Ch'êng* (Saṅkha-pura or Saṅgha-pura), which is either Sukhothai or Svankhalōk.

2. A.D. 607-8—King Gotama receives an embassy from China, and despatches in return a mission under the Nāyaka—apparently the *Naga-rapāla*, or Governor of the Capital—who is besides, according to a different account, his son.

3. A.D. 609, in the spring, this first embassy from Sukhothai is received in audience by the Chinese Emperor at Hung-nung, in Shensi. Mutual intercourse between the two nations is thereby instituted, which probably continued during the following centuries.

4. Buddhism is not only firmly established, but highly honoured in the land, the example being set by royalty itself, although Brāhmaṇ counsellors are employed at Court, and certain Brāhmaṇic rites performed in connection with State ceremonies.

#### EARLY PREVALENCE OF BUDDHISM.

The last point concerning the early predominance of Buddhism in the country well deserves a brief comment, for although it be no novel fact to scholars, and there be no lack of evidence in support of it, it is, nevertheless, still liable to be overlooked by the uninitiated and chronologically underrated by those who follow misleading statements, contained in antiquated books on Siām, or blindly reproduced in more recent publications, which continue to propagate them as if they were oracular truths.†

\* The account translated by De Rosny has in addition (p. 212) the concluding sentence : " This was the origin of the first intercourse between Siām and China " (" Telle fut l'origine des premières relations du Siam avec la Chine ").

† Among the misleading statements prolific of so much error is the vague *ipse dixit* picked up by Crawford—an authority, by the way, of no inferior order—to the effect that Buddhism is held to have been introduced to Siām from Ceylon in the year 1181 of the Siāmesse sacred [Buddhist] Era—corresponding with A.D. 638—under a Sovereign known by the name of Krek [P'hya Krek], who, in honour of that event, instituted the vulgar [Culla] Era beginning that year, or, according to other authorities, three years afterwards, *i.e.*, A.D. 641 ! (see " Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China," London, 1830, vol. ii., pp. 33, 141). I am surprised at finding this nursery yarn reproduced quite recently in so serious and positive a book as that of Miss C. Mabel Duff's on the " Chronology of India " (London, 1899). It was also adopted unhesitatingly by Taka-

Indeed, this shortcoming is partly to be ascribed to the absence, so far, of any work containing all the information bearing upon the point at issue, which lies scattered in scores of publications, mostly not of easy reach, and devoid of being marshalled in a systematic manner to the student. Leaving to such a work—which, it is to be hoped, will be undertaken at no distant date—the task of dealing exhaustively with the subject, we cannot do more here than touch upon the most salient points of this inquiry, which form, as it were, as many landmarks in the progress of the advent and initial spread of Buddhism in Southern Indo-China in general and in Siam in particular. To the facts already well established and made known we propose to add the fresh evidence that we have succeeded in eliciting from the Chinese sources mentioned in the present inquiry, which have hitherto remained unavailable owing to lack of a reliable identification of the toponymics therein recorded, and through which the data supplied under their headings could be referred to in the proper quarter.

#### EVIDENCE UP TO DATE.

The principal facts hitherto known in connection with the advent and early spread of Buddhism in Indo-China are as follows:

1. B.C. 241 (corrected date), first Buddhist mission to Suvannabhūmi (Gulf of Martaban) under Soṇa and Uttara, despatched after the con-

kusu (see "Record of the Buddhist Religion," Introduction, p. lii, footnote), who relies upon it. When it is said that P'hyā Krēk did not reign in Siam, but over Kamboja, not in the seventh, but in the thirteenth century; that no introduction of Buddhism took place under his reign; and that his rejection of the Buddhist in favour of the Culla Era has no connection whatever, as may well be imagined, with such or any similar event, I am afraid there is not much left of the above story. The adoption of the Culla Era by P'hyā Krēk in Kamboja is mentioned in the so-called "Northern Annals" of Siam, and by tradition this Era is called the "Era of P'hyā Krēk"; but the event occurred in A.D. 1244, the date of P'hyā Krēk's assumption to the throne, according to my own researches. The story had its origin in the Khmēr legend that a junk bringing the Buddhist Scriptures from Ceylon reached Kamboja in A.D. 638, the initial date of the Culla Saka Era; and as P'hyā Krēk was reputed to have been the first ruler of Kamboja to adopt this Era, his name became connected with that event, and with the foundation of the Era itself, which latter came in the course of time to be ascribed to him. The importation of sacred books alluded to appears to be that which took place at the time of Anuruddha of Payān (in *circa* A.D. 1060) through the fortuitous circumstances which we have briefly mentioned in a former note (see p. 376, *A. Q. R.*, October, 1900). Or else it may be a question of some mission despatched to Ceylon for the purpose of obtaining fresh copies of the Scriptures by P'hyā Krēk himself later on. Upon either of these traditions the aerial structure of fable and anachronism above referred to was fabricated.

In so far as Kamboja is concerned, the legend of the introduction of the Buddhist Scriptures at the beginning of the Culla Era found its endorser and paladin in Mr. Fournerau, of Angkor Wat and "Siam Ancien" fame, who, after having authoritatively proclaimed to the world that Angkor Thom was founded in 447 B.C. and Angkor Wat in A.D. 57, pours forth the following bewildering statement: "Tout ce que l'on peut affirmer [*sic*], c'est qu'elle [Angkor véat] était terminée en 638, époque à laquelle l'introduction des livres sacrés bouddhiques apportés de Ceylan déterminait la chute de Brahmā [*sic*] et l'affectation de son temple au culte de Visnu" ("Les Ruines d'Angkor," pp. 93, 94). After so positive an assertion by so eminently eminent an authority, it would seem that the task of both the historian and antiquarian is ended, and the above legend is to be peacefully accepted as so much gospel.

clusion of the third great Synod.\* This mission, which may now be regarded as historical, had as effect the establishment of Buddhism in Western Indo-China, namely, in Burmā, Pegu, the Malay Peninsula, and perhaps part of Siam. Six millions of people are, in fact, said to have been converted, of whom 2,500 men became monks, and 1,500 women became nuns.† As a proof of the rapid spread of the new religion in this region, even as far as the Chinese borders in the north, the fact may be adduced that at about the same date *Pêh-fan Wang* (Śukladhānya?) a prince claiming descent from Aśoka of Magadha established his capital at Pêh-ngai, to the south-east of the Tali Lake in Yünnan,‡ while Mañjusaka of the same lineage is said to have settled at Yung-ch'ang,§ then a State populated by the Āi-Lāu, the progenitors of the present Thai race of Siam and Upper Burmā. Though these may be mere traditions, it is historically certain that in B.C. 122, when Emperor Wu-Ti of the Han dynasty sent his famous expedition into Yünnan, trying to find a way to India, the Kings of *Tien* (region about the Yünnan Lake) and *Pêh-ngai* (region about the Tali Lake) were both Buddhist,|| a fact demonstrating that Buddhism had early before that time found its way into Yünnan through Upper Burmā, and had there spread considerably.

2. Circa A.D. 400 — Buddhist inscription discovered in Province Wellesley and engraved in Sanskrit on a slab, which appears to have formed part of a sīmā of a Buddhist temple. Dedicated by the great ship-owner Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā, a place which I have identified with Mergui. The date assigned to this inscription by Professor Kern, its translator, on the basis of the type of characters employed, is about 400 A.D.¶ From it we obtain the first palpable evidence of Buddhism being well established in the Malay Peninsula, and having spread throughout its western coast at least since the beginning of the fifth century. Of this fact we shall directly obtain confirmation from other sources.

3. A.D. 481 — Sanskrit inscription on a red sand-stone slab now in the Kuzsi or Kuzêk temple at Pagān (dated Gupta Samvat 163 = A.D. 481),

\* The Mahāvamsa places this mission at some time after the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council held in the seventeenth year of Asoka's reign—i.e., B.C. 235 = B.C. 308, corrected date B.C. 246. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu give B.C. 236 (= B.C. 308-7) as the date of the advent of Soṇa and Uttara in Suvannabhūmi, which would seem to be a little too early, and is not to be relied upon, having been obtained second-hand, for these inscriptions are comparatively modern (A.D. 1476). The now most generally accepted date for the despatch of the first Buddhist missions to the various countries is B.C. 241. The Peguan book of Gavampati states that the missionaries deputed to Suvannabhūmi were five in number, and bore the names of Soṇa, Tissagutta, Somāya, Anuruddha, and Uttara.

† See Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes," p. 118, and Mahāvamsa, chap. xii.

‡ E. H. Parker in *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xxv., p. 104.

§ E. H. Parker in *China Review*, vol. xx., p. 394. The Chinese characters there given read *Mêng-chia-ch'wo*, or *Mung-ka-ts'uk*. Mr. Parker says they suggest the word "Magadha," an opinion which I do not share; but *Mêng* is probably only a prefix or title, and *chia-ch'wo* may stand for *Kusāla* = *Kunāla*, as *Pêh-fan Wang* may represent *Sāliśūka*, instead of *Sukladhānya*, as suggested.

|| E. H. Parker in *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xxv., pp. 103, 104.

¶ See "Essays relating to Indo-China," First Series, vol. i., p. 234.

recording the erection of a temple dedicated to Buddha by Rudrasina, the ruler of Arimaddhanapura (Pagān).\*

4. A.D. 610—Sanskrit inscription on a slab similar to that above, and discovered at the same spot, but engraved in characters of the North Indian alphabet, and dated in the Śaka Samvat 532 = A.D. 610, recording the presentation of a statue of Buddha to the Aśokārāma of Arimaddhanapura (Pagān) by two monks from Hastināpura (Tagaung in Upper Burma).† Both these inscriptions supply us with the proof that Buddhism was flourishing in the Irāvati's valley as far up as Tagaung, and as early, at least, as the fifth century; while the Buddhist images, bricks and clay tablets bearing the effigy of Buddha and Sanskrit legends in the early Gupta characters discovered amongst the ruins of both Tagaung and old Prome,‡ demonstrate a still earlier prevalence of Buddhism in Burma.

5. Sixth century A.D.—Buddhism flourished in *Fu-nan* (identified by me with Eastern Kamboja), though later on destroyed by a wicked king,§ and in *Dvārāvati* (Southern Siām).||

6. A.D. 665—Inscription of *Wat Prey-Viér* or *Wat P'hrai-Wā*, the oldest Buddhist epigraphic monument so far discovered in Kamboja (dated Śaka 587 = A.D. 665).¶

#### FRESH EVIDENCE.

To the above well-established facts we may now add the following fresh evidence elicited by ourselves from the Chinese records exploited in the course of the present paper :

1. A.D. 515—the King of *Lang-ya-hsin* (a country which we have now identified with the portions of the Malay Peninsula lying about and to the north of the Kra Isthmus) sent an envoy to China with presents and a letter written in a fervent Buddhist spirit.\*\* However exaggerated the expressions may appear, it is certain that that country and its rulers were devout Buddhists, for not much later several Buddhist monks from China who called there on their way to Ceylon were—according to the testimony

\* Dr. Führer's "Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle for the year ending June 30, 1894."

† *Ibid.*

‡ See Phayre's "History of Burma," pp. 14, 15, and Forchhammer's "Jardine Prize Essay," p. 4.

§ Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," by I-tsing (671-695 A.D.), p. 12. Three Buddhist monks from *Fu-nan* went to China between A.D. 503-580, according to Bunjo Nanjo's "Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka," App. II., Nos. 92, 101, 102, 107, etc.

|| Chavannes' "Les Religieux Éminents," p. 69.

¶ "Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale," t. xxvii., fasc. i., Part I., pp. 60-64; and *Journal Asiatique*, t. ix., No. 2, pp. 217, 218. This inscription is digraphic, one portion being in Sanskrit and the other in Khmēr. The mention of two *Chikrus* occurs in the former, and although in the latter no Khmēr equivalent for that Sanskrit term is discerned by Mr. Aymonier—a circumstance which makes him doubtful as to the Buddhist character of the monument—I think that this and the other peculiarities noticed by Mr. Barth are quite sufficient to establish it.

\*\* See Groeneveldt's paper in "Essays relating to Indo-China," Second Series, vol. i., p. 136.



of I-tsing—exceedingly well received by the King, “with all honours befitting distinguished visitors.”\* Indeed, I-tsing himself, speaking of *Lañ-kachü*, *Dvārāvātī*, etc., distinctly declares that “the inhabitants of all these countries greatly reverence the Three Jewels (*Ratnatraya*).”†

2. A.D. 529—the State of *P'an-p'an* (occupying the territory about the north-western corner of the Gulf of Siam, as we shall show in due course) sent an envoy to China with a Buddha's tooth and an ornamental pagoda.‡ New pagodas, together with leaves of the sacred Bodhi tree obtained from India, were despatched by a subsequent embassy two years later on (A.D. 532).§ The Chinese accounts of that period tell us that there existed in the kingdom of *P'an-p'an* ten convents of monks and nuns.||

3. A.D. 607—From the account of *Ch'ih-t'u*, reproduced above, we learn how highly honoured was Buddhism in the State of Sukhothai and dependencies, and we are furthermore told that sixteen years before that period (*i.e.*, in A.D. 591) the late King had forsaken the throne in order to take the yellow robe of a Buddhist monk.

The above array of well-substantiated facts—to which we might have easily added more were this the proper place for such a discussion—is by itself sufficient to prove not only the presence but the predominance of Buddhism, both as a State and a popular religion, in *Burmā*, *Siam*, the Malay Peninsula, and *Kamboja*, as early, at least, as the fifth century A.D., and makes it evident that the introduction of this religion must have occurred at a yet earlier period, which, for the region bordering upon the Gulf of Martaban, may well be shifted back to the days of *Soṇa* and *Uttara's* mission to *Suvannabhūmi*—*i.e.*, at about the middle of the third century B.C. It is therefore to be hoped—though it may be well not to be too sanguine¶—that we shall soon see the last, at any rate in works

\* Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 57. One of the monks fell ill and died there. This occurred apparently long before the date of I-tsing's peregrinations (A.D. 671-695). See also p. 100, where another monk is said to have met with an extremely kind reception on the part of the king of every country he visited, among others on that of the ruler of *Lang-chia* or *Lang-chia-hsü*, as I-tsing spells the name of that State.

† Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Practices," etc., p. 10.

‡ "P'ei-wên Yün-fu," quoted in *China Review*, vol. xiii., p. 340; also Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

§ Ma Tuan-lin, *loc. cit.*

|| *Ibid.*

¶ It would really occupy the whole of any mild-tempered man's valuable time to explode but the one-hundredth part of all the extraordinary fads and wonderful stories which have been set agoing, and over and over again repeated, about *Siam*, *Kamboja*, and neighbouring countries. For instance, a voluminous but generally careful writer, Mr. Adhémar Leclère, in his recent ponderous though by no means always accurate work on "Le Bouddhisme au Cambodge" (Paris, 1899), bursts upon the reading public with the remarkable discovery that Buddhism was introduced to *Kamboja* from *Sukhothai*, where it was flourishing in the seventh century. All this strange theory he bases on the circumstance that a copy of the *Trai-bhūm* which he saw in *Kamboja* contains the declaration that it had been compiled at *Sukodaya*, on command of King *Lidaya*, by an uncle of this ruler in A.D. 661. The equivalent date occurring in the original MS. is not given, but we may well assume that it is in the Saka Era, then much in favour at *Sukhothai*, as evidenced by the inscriptions of that period. This Mr. Leclère, or the scribe who made that copy of the *Trai-bhūm*, took to be a Buddhist Era date, and thus King *Lidaya's*

purporting to be historical, of such fairy tales about the establishment of the Culla Era, of Buddhism and the like, in either Siām or Kamboja, in A.D. 638 or thereabout, which should more properly be relegated to the realm of fiction.

reign and the original compilation of that treatise came to be ascribed to an antiquity of about seven centuries more than they can claim. Even assuming the date in question to be in the Saka Era, it must have been—as too often occurs—wrongly transcribed, for we know from the Sukhothai inscription erected by King Lidaya's son and successor that King Lidaya—or, to put it more correctly, Hridaya Jayajestha—his father, died in the summer of the year 1269 Saka=A.D. 1347, having reigned for some twenty to thirty years. Hence, the correct date of the *Trai-bhūm*'s original compilation should be comprised within that limit, and there is thus no foundation whatever for inferring that “ce fait indique suffisamment que le roi de Sokodaya [*sic*] était buddhiste au septième siècle de notre ère, c'est-à-dire au moins cinq siècles avant le roi de Cambodge” (p. 22), for we know that the kings of Kamboja were—at least, several of them—Buddhist before the seventh century. Neither would one be justified to conclude, as the writer too rashly does on so flimsy indications, even admitting they were not misleading: “Il faut donc admettre que c'est du nord que sont venus les convertisseurs du Cambodge, et non du sud” (*ibid.*). But such is, unfortunately, the manner in which Indo-Chinese history is too often written—perhaps better to say corrupted or made—nowadays.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held at the rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, on Tuesday, December 4, 1900, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair, when a paper was read by William Sowerby, Esq., C.E., F.G.S., on "Water-supply in Mitigation of Drought in India." The following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Hon. Dudley Fortescue, Colonel W. Hughes Hallett, Mr. J. H. Garstin, C.S.I., Hon. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Raja Ram Bhasker Panwalkar, Mrs. F. Aublet, Mrs. Arathoon, Mr. Zia-uddin B. Balkhi, Mr. F. R. Bomanji, Mr. A. H. Campbell, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Safdar Husain, Mr. T. P. Kelkar (of Bombay), Mr. A. K. Khan, Mr. H. Lubeck, Mr. P. Justin O'Byrne, Miss Manning, Mr. H. C. Musenden, Mr. R. K. Puckle, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Krishna Rao, B.A., Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. C. F. R. Sowerby, Mr. F. W. Taylor, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The paper having been read,\*

MR. REES said he did not quite understand how a great deal of the paper related to the prevention of famine, because it referred chiefly to water-supply for drinking. The want of water had not been a serious feature of the present famine. The author of the paper had referred to the neglect of the schemes which Sir Arthur Cotton had introduced, and had referred to the fact that those schemes were not always feasible owing to the contours and geographical features of the country. He frequently saw Madras extolled as against Bombay in regard to great irrigation schemes. That was because the great rivers were smaller, and useless for irrigation, in Bombay, and became wonderful deltas, well adapted for the purpose, in Madras. It was, no doubt, immensely to Sir Arthur Cotton's credit that he had discovered that his great works could be constructed at very small expense, when he saw that the ancient native engineers merely covered a collection of rubbish with cement, and it served as a well. He was thus able to make estimates which the authorities were able to accept for the great works which he carried out in the Madras Presidency. Other great works of his were conspicuous failures; and if the Government of India, collecting its revenue from poor cultivators, were not to consider whether the schemes would pay, there would be an end of all considerations making for prudent administration. For instance, there was the navigation of the Godavari. It must be remembered that £750,000 was expended there with no results. It was not the case that water was wanted everywhere. With reference to the great Periyar project, the immediate result was that the Madras Government passed an Act to compel the ryots in certain cases to pay for the water. These considerations should make one pause before

\* See paper elsewhere in this Review.

receiving the statement that the non-prosecution of Sir Arthur Cotton's great schemes was due to the want of competent engineers. It was rather because the Government would not embark in a scheme unless they were certain of a fair return. Mr. Sowerby had said that the frequent recurrence of famines without adequate means of dealing with such calamities was a disgrace to the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century. Famines in the past had been much more frequent and deadly. In the Central Provinces during the recent famine, 50 per cent. of the population were on relief, but throughout this great time of stress the death-rate of those provinces was very little above normal. The stress of the famine fell, not upon the people, but upon the public purse. In spite of everything they were able to feed the people. There were deaths amounting to half a million, but that was chiefly due to the influx of people from neighbouring States that were unable to cope with the famine. Mr. Sowerby had said that artesian wells had not been tried in India. To his knowledge, in the Madras Presidency artesian wells were frequently tried, and were extremely expensive, and sometimes water was not found in sufficient volume to affect the question. Artesian wells would be out of court as regards irrigating crops. It was not that grain was not available; it simply was that the price was so high that the people could not pay it. The Government stepped in and provided the grain. As regarded artificial lakelets, no doubt they did exist in Norway and Switzerland. They were to be seen in Finland. There was a continuous fall the whole way, so that the problem would be a much easier one than in the great plains of India. He did not think that in the past there was ever a well-arranged system of roads which had fallen into decay. He thought the contrary was the case, and that roads were the absolute invention of the British Raj. Nor did he see any proof that the system of cultivation was better in the past.

MR. LORAINÉ PETRE said his experience of India was largely confined to the North-West Provinces. A year after the famine he had occasion to go over all the districts, and saw a great deal of the tanks, which had been constructed as famine works. By about February the new ones were nearly all dry. The old ones which had been improved and strengthened were useful. The moral of it was that work was started without any definite system or knowledge of where a tank would be useful, and still more where it would hold water. He thought there should be a very much more careful survey. Too many tanks were left till the last moment. With regard to artesian wells, he remembered a case at Agra where an artesian well was bored at a very great depth, but nothing came of it. In Lucknow a certain amount of water came from the well, but it was not a success, and drinking water and water for domestic purposes had to be supplied from other sources. As Mr. Rees had said, the want of water was not for drinking and not for washing. They could do without washing at a pinch. He was in the North-West in 1877 and 1878, when the famine was very much more serious than was admitted, and there never was any difficulty about obtaining drinking water, nor was there in 1897. He did not understand that artesian wells would be of any use for irrigation. From a business point of view he would give another example, and that was the

proposed Ken Canal in Bundelkhand. It was generally admitted that the capabilities of the North-West canals were exhausted, with the exception of the Sardā Canal in Oudh and the Ken Canal in Bundelkhand. The Sardā Canal was objected to by the landlords. The Ken Canal he believed could be constructed, and it would no doubt irrigate a great quantity of land. It was admitted by its proposers that it would not pay its expenses for many years, if ever. The question was whether it was worth while to construct a work which could never pay. They did not have a famine every year. As Mr. Rees had said, it was not grain that was wanted. It was the means of purchasing it; and the question was, if they lost two or three lacs a year for many years on a canal, was it worth while to expend the money when it could be used for the purchase of grain, or employing people on relief works? and he would suggest it would be much more useful in the form of roads than in the form of tanks.

MR. PUCKLE thought there was a great deal of interest in Mr. Sowerby's paper, and what he had said was mainly applicable to Northern India. His (Mr. Puckle's) experience was in Southern India, where he had had large experience in connection with irrigation works, and assessing the Revenue with reference to them. He could hear out what Mr. Rees had said with reference to artesian wells. They had been tried in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, where they had bored to a depth of nearly 200 feet, and very little, if any, water was found. It is true that was close to the sea, and it might be different in the upper country. The cost of boring such wells seemed an insuperable objection. Ten shillings, or Rs. 5, a foot was a very heavy charge, and, as he gathered, £500 would be required for an artesian well in the neighbourhood of any town or village, which would be a large sum for the town or village to provide, and the result would be uncertain. Certainly it would not be useful for irrigation, but only for drinking purposes, about which he did not think there was any complaint. No doubt in certain parts of the country, in time of drought, shallow wells and surface tanks dried up; but, as a rule, there was quite a sufficiency of deep wells and large tanks supplying water near every village in times of famine. Bunding the rivers as proposed was exactly what was done in Southern India. In many cases the water never reached the sea at all, every drop of it being utilized. Making tanks in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, as proposed, was exactly what had been done. Almost every village had its tank with a sufficiency of drinking water and water for domestic purposes. As to the storing up of grain, that was what was done in former days by the people of the Deccan and remote parts of the country, but roads and railways had been made, and the people naturally refrained from storing up their grain and losing the interest on their money. The stores were not so great as they used to be, but the markets were better supplied. He could answer for what was done in the famine of 1877. Things had a great deal improved since then, and everything that could possibly be devised for the benefit of the people had been done by the Government.

MR. GARSTIN thoroughly disagreed with one or two points in Mr. Sowerby's paper. He had recommended that in every village there



should be formed tanks 500 feet long, 200 feet wide, and 10 feet deep, which would be available for irrigation purposes. There he totally disagreed with Mr. Sowerby. He believed if such tanks were made the water would filter through them. The result of digging 10 feet down, unless the rock was reached, would be to disturb the soil, and water would rapidly disappear by filtration and evaporation. Nothing had been said as to the manner in which the water was to be lifted out. All the tanks made by natives were made on the surface. The water-level was raised above that of the rest of the country, and the water was run off by the force of gravity, and was available for irrigation. He thought they had nothing to teach the natives, but a great deal to learn from them, both in agriculture and in storage of water. With very limited resources, they had done wonders. All over Southern India they came upon ancient works of the most admirable strength and simplicity, and admirably suited for the purpose for which they were designed. Irrigation from artesian wells might be possible in some cases. It had been tried in the neighbourhood of Madras, but the result was only a small column of water. Two or three wells were sunk at Pondicherry, but the water was only useful for irrigating two or three gardens. Before artesian wells on a large scale were sunk there must be geological survey, and that was a very expensive and difficult business. He had reason to suspect the accuracy of the geological surveys which they had had. He entirely differed from Mr. Sowerby in his peroration, and thought that his condemnation of what had been done in India was uncalled for and very unfair. The Government had done its duty nobly.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN desired to depart from his intention of addressing the meeting, because Mr. Garstin had really said very much better everything that he would have said. He would only say that his experience in Northern India and in the Punjab was not much more favourable than that of Mr. Garstin or Mr. Puckle, as to the probability of success in artesian wells. The position of the artesian well had been described by Mr. Garstin with very great accuracy. It was only in very exceptional circumstances that the artesian well was a possibility at all. Their two great experiments were in different parts of the Punjab: one at Umbala, where they had very little success after going down to an enormous depth; and the second was at a place on the extreme frontier, where it was essential to get drinking water for outposts. They went down considerably over 2,000 feet, but after years of working did not get a single cupful of drinking water. There might in the future be a better prospect of success, because there might be a possibility of drawing up a sort of hydrographic chart of what was below as well as what was on the surface of the ground; and if they were able to trace the course of underground rivers they might be able, by judicious sinking, to get a very large and profitable supply of water. For the present, in India, artesian well-sinking has not been a very great success.

MR. MARTIN WOOD thought that the course of the discussion, which had been very adverse to the opinions expressed in the paper, had some advantage, inasmuch as it showed the adverse side of the question of water-supply; but it required discrimination. It must be admitted in a

general sense that some permanent addition to the water-supply of India required to be made. Something of the kind was in Lord Curzon's mind in his remarks at Bombay as to the supply of water in that Presidency. He said : "There are few parts of the country where tanks for the storage of water are not practicable. They may not, probably will not, be directly remunerative; but if such a work will conduce to the greater security of the crops, and if it can be maintained at a moderate cost, it is just the sort of work that should be taken up or kept in hand for an emergency. No direct programme of relief could be complete until every possible irrigation or water-storage scheme in a district has been examined, and until a definite opinion has been come to as to their practicability and utility." He particularly drew their attention to the reference to works not being directly remunerative. The Public Works Department could not undertake works which did not promise a return. But some of them believed there was a very large class of works of different kinds in different parts of the country which, while they could not be made to show a pecuniary return, might be of immense advantage in staving off the effects of drought. He thought very large reservoirs should be constructed to contain the enormous flood waters which year by year rolled to the sea. The difficulty was to provide the funds. Reference had been made to the universality of the small bunds and tanks on the upper parts of the rivers around Madras. Those works were undertaken by the village communities and by their rulers for the sake of keeping up their crops, without any anticipation of profit, and in that direction there was scope for effort.

MR. T. P. KELKAR was glad of an opportunity of discussing the subject. People in their country used to say God did not wish that they should have rain, and did not send rain, and so they must suffer; but now others say: "No; we cannot ask God to be working for us. He is doing His duty, and we must do our duty. He is sending us rain in His own way, and we must utilize the rain in our own way." There is sometimes plenty of rain, but nobody cares. They get as much water as is required for the time being, and the rest is allowed to flow where it likes. Whenever they get water they must take care of it. His impression was that water must be collected in India for times of drought. In his district people had not built large tanks or dug large canals. In his village there was a small nullah, and some fields at the side were watered by the water of that nullah, and there were some small irrigation works here and there; but large works were nowhere to be found that were done by the people. They did not know even how to preserve their drinking water. Everything must not be left, therefore, to the people, who were ignorant and poor. It must be done for them by the Government. He could not speak as to the size of the tanks, but, anyhow, the water should be preserved. He had worked on his own field, which was on the bank of the canal; and in the years 1876 and 1877 there was a great famine, many people suffered, and many cattle died for want of fodder and water. As to artesian wells, he had heard that experiments were made, and he had heard that there were no streams running underground, and therefore they could not expect very much water. In his district the fields were watered from the wells, and the wells did not cost much. Plenty of water was got at a depth of

30 feet. The people were so poor that they had not funds to dig a well. If they wanted money they must go to the capitalist, and pay a high rate of interest. Money must be given them to dig wells, and the Government should see that the money was used for that purpose. Well water was considered by cultivators to be very good for cultivation. He was not a chemist, but part of his field, which was on the bank of a canal, was covered with some white substance like salt, and on such land no crop could grow. With canal water and night-soil manure sugar-cane grows very well, but as to other crops cultivators say that this water and manure do not agree.

The CHAIRMAN desired to ask Mr. Rees a question. He had stated that in Madras the Government had passed a measure by which the ryots were compelled to take the water. Could Mr. Rees give an explanation of how that was achieved?

MR. REES said there were certain lands which were originally classed as "wet" under the old irrigation systems, and they continued to be classed as "wet," but did not get water. Now the lands did get water, and the ryots, finding that the lands were watered, and must be watered whether the Government liked it or not, because they were absolutely alongside the canals, took the water, and then said, "Ours is 'wet' land. Why ought we to pay?" It was only in regard to such lands that the Madras Government was compelled for the protection of its revenue to pass an Act compelling the ryots to pay for the water.

MR. BOMANJI attached importance to small-well irrigation as encouraging a spirit of self-help and enterprise. He would place the provision of tanks last upon the list. With reference to the storage of water, they had a very good example in the case of Egypt. As to artesian wells, a discussion was, about two years ago, carried on in the Bombay papers, and the opinion then given by a great authority was that the Bombay Presidency was not suited for that method of water-lifting. He believed an artesian well was sunk by Mr. J. N. Tata in Naosāri, and was found to yield a good supply of water.

MR. BALKHI said that he was a Muhammadan coming from the Province of Behar. He agreed that there was really nothing they could teach the peasants in India as to irrigation works. In the Province of Behar irrigation work was done by *Gil-andāsi*—that was, making a small number of tanks in different places, with an outlet from places where there was a great supply of water to those tanks; and in that way water was preserved. He had been informed that the peasants were now unable to do it for want of money.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Sowerby, said the question of bringing water to the land was as difficult as the question in which he was personally more interested—that was, keeping the water away from the land. He was bound to say there was no service for which he had so much respect as the irrigation engineers. He would ask anyone who doubted it to pay a visit to Scinde. There agriculture was entirely dependent on irrigation, and the development which had taken place in regard to irrigation in Scinde under the British Government had been in every way most beneficial. There was probably no part of India

more prosperous than Scinde, because of this perennial flow of water and perennial irrigation. Most of the canals in Scinde gave a very good return. The difficulty arose in those cases where at considerable expense canals were made, and, then, in a good monsoon the owners and occupiers did not wish to pay for the water; and even in years when the monsoon held out for a long time, the owners and occupiers waited till they were quite certain that the monsoon would be a failure before they asked to be allowed to use the water. The Government therefore had to put to themselves the question whether it was possible to tax people for works of that kind, which were absolutely unremunerative, and whether it was not better to provide money for the purchase of grain, when there was, what had been unjustly called famine, and when the prices of grain were so high that the agriculturist could not purchase it. The question was whether the provision of a canal was a provision which ought under those circumstances to be made. There was a further question of the effect of the water on the crops which were cultivated. The result might be that the water was very good for sugar, but would be harmful to those crops which the smaller grain cultivators were most in want of. No doubt there was annually all over India a waste of water, which by means of scientific application might be avoided, and that question required further study. A great deal had been done, and he was not for a moment saying that the Government was not watching the question with all the care that it bestowed on those problems. A question was asked last Session in the House of Lords as to the amount of money which the Government were setting aside for the purpose of irrigation, and he was satisfied by the answer that the Government were doing what they ought to do under the circumstances. With regard to the preservation of water, there was one very important department in India which he considered the best auxiliary to irrigation, and that was the Forest Department. The good which had been done by them could not be exaggerated. That could not be done by individual effort. He only wished that in Scotland and Ireland they had a Forest Department. He would before sitting down allude to the question of agriculture. When in Bombay he took the greatest interest in the question of agricultural education. No doubt a ruthless application of scientific theories would not be desirable, but the question of the manuring of the soil of India, and preventing that soil from becoming exhausted, was a question which undoubtedly required attention. He was glad to learn from a letter he had recently received from the present Governor of Bombay that he was specially considering the question of what could be done to prevent the results of the late famine with regard to the splendid breed of cattle in Gujerat. That was a question which undoubtedly the Government ought not to lose sight of. He believed in many parts the local Government had established model farms and agricultural colleges. He thought the paper a very suggestive paper. His only regret was that they had not had among them representatives of the Irrigation Department, when they might have had a very technical discussion, and a discussion which might have led to more definite results.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. Sowerby, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. SOWERBY, in reply, admitted that irrigation was a very difficult matter of engineering. With regard to the success of artesian wells, he was not aware that it had been so much tried as it had been, but he could not imagine that any engineer attempting to search for water by artesian wells had not previously thoroughly investigated the probabilities of obtaining water from the rocks beneath. On one occasion, when in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, he went to a place where they were seeking for water. The engineers were trying to sink a well through a solid basalt rock. He said: "You will not get water there. If you go deep enough you may get cinders." That was the only way in which he could account for the failure of the artesian wells which had been attempted. Another gentleman had mentioned that during a time of famine they dug some shallow tanks, which after a short time dried up, but the old tanks did not dry up. He could not understand that any engineer would attempt to dig a tank on ground which was porous. It showed that the natives had had more knowledge and experience in the making of those tanks than the engineers had. Canals of irrigation were very difficult matters, requiring an immense amount of experience and skill. Engineers in this country were accustomed to make railroads. That was an easy matter. Old canal men used to look down upon railway engineers. A canal of navigation was much more difficult, but when you combined a canal of navigation and a canal of irrigation you had a difficult matter indeed. The natives of India were eminently qualified to carry out the system of irrigation. With regard to wells and tanks which he had described, there must have been some misapprehension as to his advocating a depth of 10 feet. If they went along the bed of a river they came upon recesses, and in those recesses he would make the tanks. Up the Nerbudda they might have hundreds of such places at very small expense. Much of the irrigation in Gujerat especially was carried on by wells only. The water in those wells was very impure. In one case it was sunk to 140 feet. There he came upon gravel which was full of water, and it flushed up one night 40 feet. With regard to making provision for food in the country, which he had alluded to in his paper, that was a matter of absolute necessity, to which he thought the Government ought to pay great attention. One gentleman had said that there was plenty of grain in the country, but the people had not money to buy it. No wonder. The poor unfortunate ryot was drained of every pice. Millions of them never saw a coin of any sort. They got their grain from the Sowkar, their food from the Sowkar, and when the crops were ready they went back to the Sowkar. It was a system of slavery, and, he thought, a disgrace to the country, for which he hoped to find some remedy. He had said that the frequent occurrence of famines was a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and so it was. Several gentlemen had said it was impossible to have artesian wells. They were universally adopted in America, and to say that what was possible in America was not possible in a place like India was, he thought, absurd. Half the supply of London was from artesian wells. He thanked the meeting generally for their kindness, and for their vote of thanks.

The proceedings then terminated.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS  
IN INDIA.

SIR,

In a paper read before the East Indian Association on June 29, and published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October last, Mr. Maconachie discusses the question of Religious Teaching in the Government Schools and Colleges in India. The question is one of considerable interest; it has been raised from time to time in India for many years past—in fact, almost from the first establishment of the Educational Department; but all attempts to solve it, in the sense of framing a scheme of religious education which would not be open to the most serious objection, have failed, and, judging from the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Mr. Maconachie's scheme seems destined to the same fate. But as the question is one of very great importance, and is one on which many people of all creeds and nationalities, whose opinion is entitled to much weight, feel strongly, I think it desirable to consider the proposals put forward more fully than was possible in the necessarily brief and somewhat desultory discussion\* which took place on June 29. I understand Mr. Maconachie's position to be this: Whilst openly avowing his own strong religious opinions, and avowing his desire for the conversion of India to Christianity, he is emphatically opposed to any attempt of the Government of India, or its servants in their official capacity, at bringing this about. But his argument is this: An education devoid of moral teaching is worse than useless; moral teaching must be based on religion—that is, on the belief that the world is governed by a Supreme Being, who has laid down rules as to what is moral or immoral, and who will reward the observance and punish

\* See pp. 395-404, October, 1900.

the violation of these rules. This belief is common to all the three great religions of India—Hinduism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity—and the small band of Agnostics who reject it may be ignored. The conclusion from these premises is, that these three great religions should agree on a course of moral teaching, embodying principles common to them all, and that the Government should adopt this course for its schools and colleges.

The first objection to this argument is, that it greatly underrates the strength of Agnosticism and the difficulty of dealing with it. It may be true that, according to the census returns of religious beliefs, the Agnostics are an insignificant minority. But it is a notorious fact that there are numbers of educated men, both European and natives, who, whilst nominally professing their national or family religion, are really Agnostics. They fail to see any sufficient evidence of the creation or the government of the world by a personal God, and they strongly contend that the true basis of morality is utility, and not the hope or fear of reward or punishment from a Supernatural Being. How are these men and their doctrines to be excluded from the Government schools? Is no teacher to be employed unless he signs a profession of theism? Is no student to be allowed to ask questions or raise discussions under penalty of expulsion? This is an impossibility. But if you allow the basis of your moral teaching to be called in question you will be far worse off than you were before.

The second objection is, what appears to me the utter impossibility of an agreement between the professors of the different religions on a common text-book or course of teaching. As long as these three religions stand alone, each has a complete code of morality and theology. Each has its own sacred book, in which the moral law is set forth, and the penalty attaching to disobedience. To the question, Why should a certain line of conduct be followed or shunned? there is the plain answer that God has so ordered in a certain verse of the Dharmshastras, the Koran or the Bible;

and an equally plain answer can be given to the further question, What will be the consequence of disobedience? It is admitted on all sides that to use any one of the sacred books as a text-book, or to use all three indiscriminately, is out of the question. You may indeed make a collection of moral precepts from all of them, just as you may make a similar collection from copy-books. And you may impress on your students that an observance of these precepts is likely to conduce to the highest form of happiness. But this is not a religious teaching; it is simply utilitarianism. Every schoolmaster in India is already fully at liberty to preach in this way, and, if he feels inclined to preach at all, he will have no need of a moral primer. What is suggested is, that he should not only be supplied with a moral primer, but he should be compelled to use it, and tell his pupils that it is inspired, for this is what the proposal really comes to. A certain part of the school time is to be devoted to moral teaching, as set forth in a text-book; certain rules of conduct are to be observed, not because they are useful, but because God has so ordered; and the only authority the teacher is allowed to give for this assertion is that of the text-book itself.

I think these objections sufficient to show that the proposal to introduce into the State schools a course of moral teaching based on religion is quite impracticable, even if it were desirable. But I also think that the proposal itself is based on the entire misconception of the true foundation of moral teaching. How has the moral character of the ordinary Englishman been formed? Assuredly, not by an hour or two a week devoted to a Bible or Divinity lecture at school or at college. The moral character is really formed by the boy's surroundings out of school, by the personal influence of his companions, and more especially of his parents and teachers; and this personal influence is in no way derived from a moral text-book. This is as true of the Indians as of the English school-boy, and even if Mr. Maconachie were right in his opinion—founded, as he says,

on his own experience—that the mission schools turn out better boys than the other schools, the reason would be found, not in the religious teaching of those schools, but in the personal influence of the masters.

CHARLES A. ROE, K.T.,  
Late Chief Judge of Chief Court, in the Punjab.

#### LAND ASSESSMENTS IN INDIA.

SIR,

Mr. Romesh Dutt will no doubt have something to say to me with reference to the correspondence you published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, and though many of his criticisms have been anticipated in my letter, there are still a few remarks it seems necessary for me to make in reply, though I think very few.

I am quite aware that there are cases where "half the nett" may represent even more than "one-third of the gross." Land is often cultivated which in fact produces no surplus at all, and is over-assessed at four annas an acre; but such cases are exceptional, and no ryot in Madras need keep such land in his holding. I am satisfied, from a good deal of personal inquiry, that as a rule the revenue in Madras is seldom more than 20 per cent. of the gross outturn.

Mr. Dutt says it is "untrue" that the State and the cultivator are joint owners of the land in India, and charges Madras and Bombay settlement officers with evolving that idea from their own inner consciousness. He says the State has "repeatedly and emphatically recognised the cultivator as the sole owner or proprietor of the land." It might be sufficient for me to refer him to pages 326 and 340 of the same number for a reply; but I will add that even Sir Thomas Munro always recognised that the State had *absolute* property in all *waste* land, and retained its right to a share in all land made over on patta. No doubt he said the ryot is the "true proprietor," but he took care to add "*for whatever does not belong to the State belongs to him.*" And surely it is not necessary to say that the old Hindu law always recognised the right of the State to a share of *all* the produce, not only of the "unearned increment."

To prove that this conception of the relation between the State and the cultivator is not peculiar to the Revenue Department, I would refer Mr. Dutt to the judgment of the High Court of Madras in Appeal No. 687 of 1897, p. 448, where Mr. Justice Subbramania Aiyar says that the "Government as the owner of the 'melvaram' (landlords') right, and the planter as the owner of the 'kudivaram' (tenants') right are *co-owners*" of the trees.

I have, unfortunately, no personal knowledge of the condition of the "actual cultivator" in Bengal, but I find it difficult to reconcile Mr. Dutt's assertion that the millions of "actual cultivators" there who "hold the plough and reap the rice" pay only one-sixth of the gross produce as rent, and yet never resort to subletting, with the account of Mr. Justice Field

and others of the long rows of tenants and sub-tenants that come between the Zemindar and the actual cultivator in Bengal, as they do also in Madras, when the rental is light enough to admit of sub-letting. It seems to me so certain that under such favourable circumstances they would sub-let, that I cannot understand why they don't.

I may take this opportunity of noting, as a fact within my own knowledge, that under the sharing system (*amáni*) in vogue in Pudukottai when I was there, the gross produce, after payment of all expenses, including fees to the Temple, the villagers, the watchman who looked after the crop, and the cost of harvesting, was divided *equally* between the tenant and the State, and that the share of the tenant was *raised* before the time of the Rajah, who died in 1807, from 40 to 50 per cent. of the produce of "dry" (unirrigated) land, and from 25 to 40 per cent. of rice. That comparatively enlightened monarch fixed the share of the State at 50 per cent. of rice and 33½ per cent. of dry crops, *after deducting all fees*, which had, of course, to be paid by the unfortunate ryot. Considering the other well-known evils of the "*amáni*" system, it seems surprising that the land was ever cultivated at all.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

December, 1900.

#### THE VALUE OF THE WATER OF THE GREAT RIVERS OF INDIA WITH REGARD TO FAMINES.\*

SIR,

I desire to bring the undernoted articles to the notice of readers of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, not only on account of their own merits, but also on that of the important subject of which they treat, one of pressing and unrivalled interest at the present time when India is still suffering from the effects of one of the greatest famines on record. The author is Major-General F. C. Cotton, C.S.I., late R.E., one of the ablest of Sir Arthur Cotton's Lieutenants in carrying out the great irrigation works on the Godávari River in the Madras Presidency, and therefore a most competent authority on the subject. His object is to show in the first place the incalculable value of the water of the great rivers of India, which is now, with a few notable exceptions, allowed to run to waste in the ocean, and to combat various objections to the expenditure of large sums of money on works for the proper utilization of this water. In reviewing these articles I shall not hesitate to quote extensively from them, as his arguments cannot be better put than in General Cotton's own words.

He first of all points out that the money value of the irrigation works already carried out is not understood by the public, in consequence of the sums credited to them being only the actual revenue receipts. This would be the proper method of estimating the value of the returns if the capital out of which the cost had been paid were that of a company or private

\* Article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, May, 1900, and article in *Society of Arts Journal*, October 12, 1900.



individual, but what the expenditure means to the Government of the country is a very different matter.

"The actual benefits to the country from the water utilized are as follows: First and foremost, wherever the water for the irrigation of the land is carried, that country is free from all risk of famine. What the money value of this is cannot, of course, be calculated, but that it should be ignored because it is incalculable is beyond belief. Yet that it is so is proved by the fact that certain works are termed failures, though they have effected this wonderful change in the country. Secondly, in ordinary seasons the whole increase of production, from the effect of the water, not the fraction only, is claimed as water-rate. Thirdly, in seasons of drought, the whole produce of the land, for not a blade could be grown without it. Fourthly, in a year of drought, too, there is the saving of the sum spent to keep the people alive, together with the saving of the loss by the non-payment of revenue, and the value of every head of cattle, which cannot be fed by imported food, but only by forage grown on the spot."

There are two distinct ways of viewing the returns, viz., the one reckoned by the revenue officer, and the other the entire value of the crops as reckoned by the statesman, the latter, of course, being the correct view when the benefits conferred on the country by irrigation works are to be calculated.

Another great value, viz., that for navigation, is the next that does not appear in the returns. To give an idea of the profit realized by this additional use of the water, General Cotton takes the 2,000 miles or so of distributing channels in the Godávári system, of which 500 are so locked and perfected for navigation that they are better and far cheaper for transport than a railway would be, and estimating the cost of a railway at £10,000 a mile, draws the conclusion that the value of the 500 miles of navigable channels is £5,000,000, just double of what the whole Godávári system came to, inclusive of irrigation, navigation, embankments to guard against flood, and drainage. There are still left the 1,500 miles not perfected for purposes of navigation, but which are sufficiently complete for ordinary local transport, such as the conveyance of produce to the nearest village, or market, that of agricultural implements and seed to the fields, etc., by means of small boats, thus saving the wear and tear of cattle and carts to an incalculable extent.

Passing over the further advantages of an ample water-supply, one that will not fail even in years of drought, both for domestic purposes and for the drinking of cattle, we come to a hitherto unthought of source of profit, viz., the utilization of water-power from the canals for electrical purposes. To those who only know India in its present backward circumstances, it may seem chimerical to look forward to the day when its villages and towns shall be lighted with electricity, and the *rayat* shall perform his ordinary domestic and agricultural operations by the aid of the same mighty agent; but who a little more than half a century ago could have looked forward to the country being traversed from end to end by steam railways, or to its chief towns being lighted by gas? A single generation has brought this

about, and why should we be sceptical about one or two more seeing the larger innovation introduced?

General Cotton now describes the benefits that have been derived from irrigational works in the Province of Orissa and in Karnool in Madras, formerly liable to the calamities both of drought and of flood, when, as in the case of the irrigation works from the Chenáb lately publicly mentioned by the Governor-General, Lord Curzon, the value of a single season's crops fully covers the whole expense at which the works were first carried out. Karnool is noted as one of the failures of the irrigational system, simply because it does not show a large revenue return; but is its perpetual immunity from the ravages of famine by means of irrigation to count for nothing, and is the State not amply repaid by the saving of the lives of its subjects, and the certainty of collecting a revenue when formerly there was frequently none to collect? In the case of Orissa it is shown that, whereas the trade at its ports before the commencement of the works there was of the value of £400,000, it has now reached over £1,000,000 a year. This is in addition to the saving to the community of from £1,000,000 to £1,500,000 sterling by the conveyance of traffic to the amount of 1,317,800 tons in 1897-98 on the 408 miles of its system of canals in over 99,300 boats.

The great lesson which General Cotton wishes to convey by his remarks is, however, not only that of the importance of the works in existence, but also the necessity of not allowing what comes down the rivers of the country in the monsoon freshes to run to waste in the ocean. He says:

"In looking to the future, the great supply to be considered is not the perennial volume available, but that which is carried in the monsoon freshes. This is an enormous volume in every river, and even in the last year of drought the Cauvery had an early fresh that amounted almost to a disastrous flood. To utilize these freshes the water must be stored, which will entail an expenditure much greater than the sum spent heretofore on hydraulic works. And why not? If the value of the water as I have detailed it is once fully recognised, there will be no necessity for any extreme caution as to the outlay; and it will be no longer necessary for the engineer to fight for money for his works, as was the case all through the thirty-three years of my experience. Every year fresh calls will be made on him for extended works, and every possible encouragement will be given to the most successful—I might almost say the most sanguine—prospector, the very reverse of what has hitherto been the case."

He next combats the idea—one, unfortunately, rather prevalent among people interested in the development of railway enterprise in India—that the competition of cheap freights that would be possible under combined irrigation and navigation works would interfere with that of the more expensive cost of transport by railways. I, on the contrary, believe, as he does, that the additional prosperity to the country that will be derived from the former will be a gain to the railways far exceeding any loss from the competition in the carriage of cheaper goods. India, now a poor country, will be converted into a rich one, and will become fitted for a more rapid

and expensive means of carriage. General Cotton instances as a more desirable policy to be followed for the advancement of the country that of the United States—to do away with all tolls on the Erie Canal, and spend £9,000,000 more upon it, with no other prospect of return than what will arise from the greater prosperity of the country it serves. He strongly advocates the extension of education in hydraulic engineering, and points out that a better school could not be found than in the Madras Presidency, where, in addition to the highly-finished works on the Godáviri, there are in the Carnatic numerous instances of tanks constructed on the native system by former rulers of the country, so that the two can be studied side by side. The latter, indeed, are models of uninstructed hydraulic skill, and still last to irrigate many thousands of acres of land.

One instance General Cotton has given me of the necessity of experience in such undertakings is worthy of record here: The embankment of one of these old works had been breached, and required to be repaired, and the European engineers employed to carry it out set to work to puddle the material thrown in by having it trampled down under the feet of men, and even of elephants, with a view to prevent leakage. The result was that, in consequence of the want of homogeneity in the old and new material, the embankment soon gave way, and became as bad as ever.

It is a mistake to fancy that because the surface of a country is apparently as flat as a billiard-table, it is impracticable to find places in it suitable for the storage of water. Most of the Province of Gujarát is very flat, and yet nine out of every ten villages in it have their own tanks, which, at all events, supply water for domestic use, and the drinking of the village cattle. In the most level country there are sure to be slight natural depressions which can be utilized for the formation of tanks by digging at the end opposite the course of the surface-drainage of the country, and throwing up the excavated earth to make an embankment, and thus form a reservoir for the storage of the monsoon water. Many of these tanks have rice-land under them, and if canals could be constructed to catch the water of the monsoon freshes, and lead it into these tanks, not only would such crops be rendered secure, but the people would be saved from the misery of an insufficient supply of drinking-water in seasons of drought. The cost of such canals would probably not come to one-twentieth of a regular irrigation work, and would enable the water even of small rivers to be utilized instead of running to waste, as it now does.

General Cotton's "Continuation Paper" treats of the national importance of employing such water for the prevention of famine, the enrichment of India generally, and the direct benefit of its railways, inland navigation, etc. It also meets successfully various objections raised by people of crude imaginations against the further extension of irrigation projects. Of these objections, such as the want of money—as if India had not sufficient credit to enable it to raise any sums it required for remunerative projects—great evaporation of water in a tropical climate—as if the water that did not evaporate would not bring in profits that would far more than cover the cost of what did—fear that the water passing through the country may

afford means of navigation which would compete injuriously with the railways on which so much had been spent—as if there were not room enough in India both for navigable canals by which to convey bulky traffic, and railways that would provide for the carriage of lighter commodities that can afford greater speed at a higher cost—and, lastly, the objection, which General Cotton may well say could only be whispered, and could not, for very shame, be spoken aloud, that the effect of providing water would be to add to the prosperity of the country, would tend to increase the population, and be thereby a cause of difficulty in the future, are met and refuted. He is righteously indignant that such an idea as the last should have entered people's heads; but I am not surprised, considering the fact, already recorded in the pages of this *Review*, that a Secretary of State for India once said to me it would be advisable to rack-rent all land paying revenue to the State in order to leave no room where a money-lender could step in where the rent was low, and enjoy any portion of the profits. Oh, my masters! with what little wisdom the world is governed!

The General does not want for illustration in proof of the fact that enormous benefits may come from cheap inland navigation in India as well as from the more expensive system of communication by rail. The district of Tanjore is a delta entirely devoid of stone, whilst that of Trichinopoly, which adjoins it, is poor and rocky. A canal now carries the stone cheaply from the poor to the rich district, and the rocks of the former are a saleable commodity, which without the canal were entirely a waste product.

In conclusion, I do not believe anyone can rise from the perusal of these papers without being convinced that there is a very large and remunerative field open in India for the employment of many millions of capital in simply saving for the use of the country the many millions of gallons of water now allowed to run away to the ocean without benefit to anyone. He will be a wise statesman and a benefactor to it who will steadily fix his mind on the subject with a determination to carry out the idea.

December, 1900.

A. ROGERS.

## A CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE.

In a valuable article in the *North American Review* for November last, by Mr. O. P. Austin, Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, the following interesting figures are given: It is estimated that the population of the world in 1800 was 640,000,000, now 1,500,000,000; that the aggregate commerce, imports and exports at the beginning of the century was 1,479,000,000 dollars, now it is 19,915,000,000, and *per capita* it has risen from 2'31 to 13'27. The area cultivated in 1800 was in acres 360,000,000, now 861,000,000. At the former period there were no railways, telegraphs, or cables, now there are in miles 442,200 railways, 933,000 telegraphs, and 168,000 in cables. The production of cotton in pounds in 1800 was 520,000,000, now 5,900,000,000; the production of coal was 11,600,000 tons, now 610,000,000; pig-iron then 460,000 tons, now 37,150,000; and the production of gold, then 128,464,000 dollars, now 1,950,000,000.

There was no carrying power by steam in shipping in 1800, now it has reached 13,045,000 tons, and including sail, as well as steam, the carrying power has risen from 4,026,000 to 63,200,000.

## THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

In reference to the opening of the first Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth, the Board of Trade of the British Government have issued in their Journal\* an important statement on the commercial development of those colonies between 1895 and 1899.

### I. IMPORTS INTO AUSTRALIA.

	1895.	1899.
1. <i>New South Wales.</i>		
From United Kingdom and British possessions ...	£ 14,353,000	£ 21,255,000
From foreign countries ...	1,639,000	4,340,000
2. <i>Victoria.</i>		
From United Kingdom, etc. ...	11,161,000	15,167,000
From foreign countries ...	1,311,000	2,786,000
3. <i>South Australia.</i>		
From United Kingdom, etc. ...	4,915,000	6,096,000
From foreign countries ...	671,000	788,000
4. <i>Western Australia.</i>		
From United Kingdom, etc. ...	3,738,000	4,026,000
From foreign countries ...	37,000	448,000
5. <i>Queensland.</i>		
From United Kingdom, etc. ...	5,094,000	6,764,000
From foreign countries ...	255,000	
6. <i>Tasmania.</i>		
From United Kingdom, etc. ...	1,086,000	1,734,000
From foreign countries ...	8,000	35,000
<i>Total Imports.</i>		
From United Kingdom, etc. ...	40,347,000	63,439,000
From foreign countries ...	3,921,000	

### II. EXPORTS.

1. <i>New South Wales.</i>		
To United Kingdom and British possessions ...	17,323,000	19,968,000
To foreign countries ...	4,612,000	8,477,000
2. <i>Victoria.</i>		
To United Kingdom, etc. ...	12,894,000	14,858,000
To foreign countries ...	1,654,000	3,710,000

\* *Board of Trade Journal*, October 18, 1900, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.



II. EXPORTS—*continued.*

		1895.	1899.
		£	£
3. <i>South Australia.</i>			
	To United Kingdom, etc. ...	6,617,000	6,963,000
	To foreign countries ...	560,000	1,427,000
4. <i>Western Australia.</i>			
	To United Kingdom, etc. ...	1,311,000	6,903,000
	To foreign countries ...	22,000	82,000
5. <i>Queensland.</i>			
	To United Kingdom, etc. ...	8,948,000	11,943,000
	To foreign countries ...	35,000	
6. <i>Tasmania.</i>			
	To United Kingdom, etc. ...	1,371,000	2,250,000
	To foreign countries ...	2,000	327,000
<i>Total Exports.</i>			
	To United Kingdom, etc. ...	48,464,000	76,908,000
	To foreign countries ...	6,885,000	

The most serious competitor with British trade is the United States, the percentage of trade, imports and exports, having doubled during the above five years.

## BANGKOK.

Taking into consideration the smaller rice-crop and other abnormal causes, the bulk of trade is this year about the same as last, and is much greater than that of the preceding three years. The exports amounted to £3,123,775, imports £2,532,137; the export of rice was the smallest since 1892, being 428,661 tons, valued at £2,223,953. The export of teak has largely increased, and will continue to increase, in consequence of the demand for housebuilding and furnishing in Europe, shipbuilding purposes, and railway rolling-stock. The forests and export trade are chiefly in the hands of British merchants. Railway construction is rapidly increasing throughout Siam, for which, up to March 31 last, the Government has spent one million sterling.

## THE "OUSELEY" SCHOLARSHIPS, 1901.

These scholarships are given annually by the School of Modern Oriental Studies of the Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India. Last year Mr. N. Hagopian, son of the Professor of Turkish and Arabic, University College, London, gained the scholarship for Hindustani. The examination for a scholarship for 1901 (probably held early in July) will be on "Marathi," and will be held in University College, London. For further particulars, application should be made to the Secretary, School of Modern Oriental Studies, Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

## THE LEITNER PRIZE FOR ARABIC AT KING'S COLLEGE.

A prize of £5 in books is given annually for the encouragement of the study of Arabic by Mrs. E. T. Amery in memory of the late Dr. G. W. Leitner, formerly Professor of Arabic at King's College, and Dean of the Oriental Section.

The prize is awarded to the student who has most distinguished himself in Arabic during the academical year.

Should there be no candidate eligible to receive the prize in any year, the money will be added to that given in the following year, to be used partly for the purpose of awarding a prize in books, and partly in payment of a portion of the fees of a student in Arabic who may be considered by the Principal of King's College to be deserving of such assistance.

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For particulars of lectures and professors of Oriental languages at University College and King's College, London, application should be made to the secretaries of the respective colleges.

## SCHEME FOR AN INQUIRY CONCERNING ISLÁMISM.

In our issue for April, 1898 (pp. 427-429), we gave the scheme, propounded by our much-esteemed contributor, Prof. Dr. Montet, whose reports on "Semitic Studies and Oriental Research" appear regularly in our pages, for the carrying out, in a true and scholarly spirit, friendly alike to Islámic and Christian learning, a personal investigation of Islámism and its progress in the principal countries in which it exists. Dr. Montet explained that this investigation had to be carried out in two ways, both equally instructive. The first is the study of the literature of the respective centres, and especially that of the Universities and other seminaries of Mussulmans of all denominations; and the second is, to have personal intercourse with the intellectual and upper classes of Mussulmans. With the view of practically carrying out this very interesting and important scheme, Dr. Montet left Geneva for Morocco last autumn, and we hope to have the pleasure of making known very shortly the result of his investigations. Meanwhile, we trust the authorities in the various districts which he visits will give him a cordial reception, and afford him every assistance in his important mission, interesting alike to scholars and the followers of Islámism and Christianity.

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 PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER, OXFORD.

We have to record, with deep regret, the demise of the eminent Oriental scholar Professor F. Max Müller. He was born at Dessau on December 6, 1823, and died at Oxford on October 28, 1900. He studied Arabic and Persian under Professor Fleischer; Sanskrit and comparative philology under Professors Brockhaus, Bopp, and Rückert; philosophy under Drobisch, Weisse, and Schelling. His first published work was a translation of "The Hitopadesa" in 1844. In 1848 he settled at Oxford, and

in the year after the first volume of the "Rig-Veda" appeared, which was finally published in six volumes. He was made a Curator of the Bodleian Library in 1856, and elected a Fellow of All Souls' College in 1858. In 1868 he was elected the first Professor of Comparative Philology. In 1875 he was entrusted by the University to edit a series of translations of the "Sacred Books of the East," which now amount to forty-nine volumes. He wrote numerous articles and essays, and delivered lectures on religions, illustrated by the religions of India, and other kindred subjects. In 1860 a second edition of his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" appeared, and in 1891 his lectures, entitled "The Science of Language." Most of his essays were collected and published under the title "Chips from a German Workshop." He held various appointments in colleges and other institutions in connection with Oriental literature and research, and one of his latest works is that titled "Auld Lang Syne." He received the highest literary honours from Universities abroad, as well as from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and was created a member of the Privy Council.

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#### THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA.

His Highness Sir Rajendra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, died on November 8 last of fever, after a short illness. His Highness was born in 1872, and was one of the chief ruling Princes of India. He succeeded his father, Maharaja Mahendra Singh, in 1876, then a minor. His grandfather rendered excellent services to the Government during the Nepal war and the Sutlej campaigns, and during the Mutiny. In recognition of his services, he obtained large extensions of territory, in addition to titles and other symbols of power. The active services of the deceased Maharaja in the campaigns of 1897 were much appreciated by the Government of India, and received the Grand Cross of the Star of India. He offered his services in the Transvaal, and sent a superb hospital ship to China. His death was received with much regret by his numerous friends in the West as well as in the East. He is succeeded by his son, Tikka Sahib, at present an infant.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BICKERS AND SON; LONDON, 1900.

1. *Through Five Turkish Provinces*, by MARK SYKES, Jesus College, Cambridge. Mr. Sykes begins the narrative of his journey at Damascus, thence to Chengil—the last Turkish post on the Russian frontier—through Aleppo, Deir, Baghdad, Mosul, Bitlis and Van. The volume contains good illustrations, a very neat and distinct map of the journey, and an index of the subjects, persons and places referred to in the narrative. There are some amusing stories, which will afford pleasant reading on a railway journey, or on board a ship. The following is the author's description of a Kurdish house:

"A Kurdish house has the general appearance of a heap of stones surrounding a tunnel. You dismount, your horses are led into the tunnel, and you are motioned to follow. Directly you enter, a thick, sweet smell assails you—such a smell that one sometimes meets with in a badly ventilated cow-shed, or a particularly dirty stable. You have to feel your way down this passage, which is dimly lighted, and which grows darker at every step, till it takes a sudden turn to the right, and emerges into a cavernous chamber, in which the smell becomes terribly oppressive. The only light in this room comes from a hole about 6 inches square at one of the angles in the roof; this hole also provides the ventilation, though occasionally it is covered by a piece of glass. When this was the case, I always had it removed, of course paying for the damage; and I should advise any travellers who propose sleeping in one of these places, winter or summer, to do the same.

"On entering the room you step into pools of filth, and blunder against horses and cows, which are tethered promiscuously round the apartment. At the far end are seen through the dim atmosphere the columns of what appears to be a gigantic four-poster; but, on closer investigation, this proves to be a raised platform about 4 yards square, thickly carpeted with felt, on which some ten or twelve individuals may be seated. On this stage is a stove, or sometimes a brushwood fire, which fills the room with thick smoke, and makes the atmosphere even fouler than it would otherwise be. When you have removed your boots, a seat on the carpet is provided for you. For the first hour you are expected to drink cup after cup of scalding tea, without milk or lemon; then comes coffee: then, for another hour or so, you have to answer a series of senseless questions that nearly drive you to desperation. After that you will be left to the fleas, who will do their best for your entertainment for the rest of the night."

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; C. J. CLAY AND SONS; LONDON, 1900.

2. *Studia Sinaitica*, Nos. IX., X.: *Select Narratives of Holy Women*. These volumes contain the texts in the original, and a translation of the

stories of so-named holy women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest, as written above the old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Qanūn in 778 A.D., edited and translated by the well-known Agnes Smith Lewis, who discovered that important manuscript in 1892. The editor has been ably assisted by, among other friends, the three Cambridge scholars, the late Dr. Bensly and Dr. Rendel Harris and Mr. Burkitt. These stories were highly valued by the ascetics of the Middle Ages. Miss Lewis correctly says: "Although these 'Select Narratives' cannot pretend to much value when compared with the ancient Gospel-text which underlies them, and which has been preserved for their sakes alone during eleven centuries, and though it would be a difficult task to sift the few grains of historical truth which they contain from their bushels of imaginative chaff, they are not without some literary beauty. Piously believed in at the time they were written, they exhibit just such a mingling of exciting adventure with godly precepts as would make them a favourite means of" (so-called) "edification to the monks of the Middle Ages." The photographs and texts are well executed, and the letterpress of the translations is clear and distinct. The volumes contain many illustrations and indices of proper names, as well as valuable introductory and footnotes.

3. *A Hand-list of the Muhammadan Manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Fellow of Pembroke College, Lecturer in Persian, etc. The compiler, who has recently given us a catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge Library, has now given us, after great labour, a list of Arabic MSS., including some Christian, Hindu and Parsi words, which are strictly Muhammadan, though not written in Arabic. Part I. gives the works, in order of their titles, alphabetically. Part II. contains the "untitled manuscripts," such as collections of letters, memoranda, miscellanies, and the like. In Part III. all the MSS. are arranged according to order of class-marks, indicating opposite each the articles under which its description may be found. An index of proper names concludes the volume.

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CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK AND MELBOURNE, 1900.

4. *The Story of the Chinese Crisis*, by ALEXIS KRAUSSE, author of *Russia in Asia*, *China in Decay*, etc., with a specially prepared map, and a plan of Peking. This is a popular account of the circumstances which have led up to the existing state of affairs in China. It is a handy little volume, racy in composition, and well printed. In appendices there are a collection of landmarks in Chinese history, a concise description of recent works on China, and an index of names and subjects. The writer sums up his opinion of what ought to be British policy. He says, "We have of late years made many mistakes in China; it is time for us to recognise this, and retrieve the past by an intelligent appreciation of the future. In order to save the situation, very drastic measures are requisite. . . . The

points which it is desirable to attain in the interests of England are as follows: (1) China to be opened from end to end to travellers and traders of all nations, who shall enjoy equal freedom to enter the various provinces and reside there; (2) absolute equality of treatment of nations; (3) no further cessions of territory to any foreign Power; (4) all illegal taxes to be abolished; (5) the rivers of China, which have been declared open to foreign trade, but which still remain closed, to be opened forthwith; (6) the smugglers who infest the Canton river and its vicinity to be repressed without mercy; (7) the Ambassadors representing the Powers at Peking to have the right of personal audience with the Emperor, just as they have with the rulers of other Powers."

THE CENTURY COMPANY; NEW YORK.

5. *China the Long-lived Empire*, by E. R. SCIDMORE. Miss Scidmore has been a keen observer during her repeated visits to China. She brings before the minds of her readers in a vivid and concise manner the sights and scenes of every place, and points of interest she has investigated. She has a bright, terse way of expressing her opinions and describing her experiences, arriving at the same conclusions as most of us concerning the prolonged apathy of this unimpassioned race. A form of sleep-walking paralyzes the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, both Manchu and Chinese; yet in spite of squalor and other visible signs of retrogression of this once highly civilized people, there exists a remarkable fascination which allures the traveller to overlook every obstacle and general discomfort. The great incentive is to understand this imperturbable nation, blind to their own innumerable disadvantages. The author is thoroughly acquainted with her subject, her book is written with a freedom of style that will insure her many readers. There is much to please within the compass of her truly Oriental covers of yellow and scarlet. Life, colour, sunshine, shade, bustle, and stillness are seen and felt as her narrative is pursued. Miss Scidmore's admiration of the Great Wall finds expression as one of the greatest masterpieces of manual labour, the one that may be even viewed from the planet Mars; and long after we have closed her book the tramp of the ceaseless camel caravan beats in our ears, and passes without hindrance before our mental vision. There runs through all her stories the weighty question, What will be the ultimate history of this great Empire? Will this inaction end fatally, or will China some day arise, like a giant refreshed from its long and deep slumber, stung by the repeated goadings of bayonet-pricks, and alarmed by the sudden shocks of cannon and dynamite, arising to possibilities far beyond the most astute politicians to forecast? China inactive is a sad picture; China equipped after the manner of European countries, strengthened with a well-drilled army, and a navy fit to carry out some colossal enterprise, would be a problem capable of many finalities. But the time has not yet come, either by virtue of its turn in the world's history, or by prophecy handed down by Holy Writ. In the Land of the Dragon time is willingly reckoned by centuries, and even in this present crisis China's fate is as hard to decipher as its language of 80,000 ideographs.—S.



THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1900.

6. *The Tiruvāṣagam* or "Sacred Utterances" of the Tamil poet, saint, and sage Māṇikka-Vāṣagar, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College and Indian Institute, Oxford. This volume is the result of the patient and industrious work of half a century; although arduous, it has been a labour of love for the Tamil race and literature. It contains the Tamil text of fifty-one poems, with an English translation in rhyme, verse by verse, most interesting and instructive introductions and notes, accompanied with a summary of the life and legends of the Sage, and appendices illustrating the great South-Indian system of philosophy and religion called the Āiava Siddhāntam, with a most useful Tamil Lexicon and a minute Concordance. The Tamil text is beautifully printed, as well as the letterpress of the English translation, notes, and the life of the celebrated poet.

The learned author differentiates the system of Āiava, and the systems of Buddhism and Jainism, and explains in notes, as the translation proceeds, any obscure terms or phrases that may appear in the text.

He lays down as a safe principle that all who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of the religion and philosophy of the Poet, must be able not only to read the original in Tamil, but to think and feel in that vernacular in order to obtain a real insight into the *living system* which exercises at the present day such a marvellous power over the minds and actions of the great majority of the best Tamil people.

The following are a few examples of the Poet's aspirations. We regret our space prevents us giving more :

Call, take me 'midst Thy loving ones, Thou crowned  
With cassia, home of sweets and humming bees !—  
In 'midst, beneath, above, in all contained,  
Thou art, my Sire, "like oil within the seed !"

Father and Mother, Lord ! To all besides.  
Sire, Mother, Lord :—to Him all these are not !  
Erewhile within my inmost soul He enterèd,  
Whom none by thought can know, the Ever-blissful One !

To Thee, nor wealth, nor want ! From heavenly ones to worms,  
And grass,—(no limit), all Thou fillest,—Being rare !  
I saw Thy Foot-gem limitless, yet swerved from Thee.  
This is the grief I stony-hearted have endured !

My bonds Thou loosed'st, mad'st me Thine ! And all  
The loving saints—who ashes gave—beheld.  
Thou didst exalt, within the temple court,  
Ev'n me Thou didst exalt, who knew not anything.

Thou Only-Wise ! Ambrosia ! me, a servile cur,  
When Thou didst take and make Thine own, was I then wise ?  
Thou saw'st my ignorance that day Thou mad'st me Thine !  
Ah, Lord of grace, was I then wise ? was I then strong ?

O Master, O my Mighty One, my Father, Perumān, my births'  
Destroyer, Thou who mad'st me Thine,—an evil wholly worthless dog,  
And throughly base :—I cannot think, Thou see'st,—of any meet return to Thee,  
O Shining One, Lord of the Porch,—nor know I aught that I can do.

Sire, as in Union strict, Thou mad'st me Thine ; on me didst look, didst draw  
me near ;

And when it seemed I ne'er could be with Thee made one,—when naught of  
Thine was mine,—

And naught of mine was Thine,—me to Thy Feet Thy love

In mystic union joined, Lord of the heavenly land !—'Tis height of blessedness !

For blessedness I seek ;—not Indra's choice delights, nor those of other gods ;—

Thou Only-One, I live not save with Thy Feet twain ! Our Lord, my breast is  
riven,

With trembling seized ; my hands in adoration join ;

And from my eyes a ceaseless stream pours down, as of a river, () my sage !

I pray for love of Thine own jewell'd Feet ; remove the false ; Thine own

Make me in truth ; dog though I am,—O bid me come, in grace join to Thyself.

For evermore Thine own ! So let me ceaseless praise,

Thro' every world returning ever come ; my King, that I may worship Thee !

To me, a guileful soul, who thought to gain Thee, Lord, salvation save by Thee

Is none. No other Being truly is, save Thee ! Lest pining sorrow come,

In mercy to my sin, my soul vouchsafe to guard.

'Tis pitying grace like this alone, Ruler Superne ! Thy glory doth beseem.

Ruler Superne, there's none but Thee, or here or there, and thus I ever spake,

Fool though I was, there was no difference ! Our Lord : Thou Spotless One,

Who didst

Make me, an outcast wretch, Thine own, my Teacher Thou.

The Thought, that other god exists than Thee the One, my mind shall never  
Think !

NOTE.—The expense of producing such a monumental and valuable work must be great. We trust that those who take an interest in Tamil literature in India and Europe will not allow the revered and learned author to suffer any loss. We understand that at least £200 is still required, which we hope will be readily forthcoming. Contributions may be forwarded to the Rev. Dr. Pope, Indian Institute, Oxford.—ED.

7. *The "Oxford. English Dictionary": a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles ; founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society.* Edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. V. : *Input—Invalid.* The present section, which was issued in October last, brings down nearly the close of the *in*-words, and includes all the English compounds of the prefixes *inter-*, *intra-*, and *intro-*, of each of which groups a general analysis is given under the prefix. The words are chiefly of Latin origin and of varied interest. Among those of special notice are : *insect*, *insignia*, *insolence*, *instruct*, *intellect*, and many others. Under the word *intend* there are ramifications of thirty-three senses and sub-senses, of which not more than six are now in use. The word *intention* in Surgery and in Logic has an interesting history, as well as the word *instance*. The historical words, such as *inquest*, *inquisition*, *install*, *institute*, *insurance*, with a discussion on the words *assure*, *ensure*, *insure*, are all analyzed and exhaustively treated.

To-day (January 1, 1901) will be published two double sections, finishing vol. iv., and bringing vol. v. to the middle of J.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LIMITED ; WESTMINSTER, 1900.

8. *Travels in the East of Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, when Cesarewitch*, 1890-91. Written, by order of his Imperial Majesty, by PRINCE E. OOKHTOMSKY, and translated from the Russian by ROBERT GOODLET (St. Petersburg). In two volumes, with about 500 illustrations engraved on wood, and numerous heliogravure plates. Edited by Sir George Birdwood, M.D., K.C.I.E., etc. Vol. ii. About three years ago the first volume of this magnificent work appeared in an English dress. The second volume is now published in the same gorgeous and superb style as the first. The work does the greatest credit to the author, the translator, and the editor, as well as the printer. The present volume contains steel and heliogravure plates of the Emperor, South Indian sanctuaries, King of Siam's gondolas, interior of a Siamese temple, and a storm in a Siberian forest. Of full-page illustrations, beautifully executed, there are above one hundred, comprising temples, pagodas, idols, cities, rural scenery, and views of receptions in numerous places ; and in the text there are no fewer than upwards of 230, all executed in the best style of the artist and the British workman. The work, although a translation, reads as though it were originally an English book, written with a facile and felicitous pen.

The author himself evidently describes the travels of his august master with a keen eye towards the interests of his country. He writes : " Without doubt the deeper one's study of Indian history and of the individual qualities of the races inhabiting the Peninsula, the more definite become certain theses concerning this land, which excites in us (Russia) an ever-growing and almost instinctive interest. Once 'Russia' and the East (taking the latter to include the combined peculiarities of the culture of Islam, Brahminism, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc.) are placed in a completed group of organically associated nations with a strong vitality, their marked difference from the nations of the West, in their past and their present, will become patent to every unprejudiced observer." Again, he says : " The mighty Aryans of the Vedas and of the later Indian epics, who fought with the aborigines of the Punjab and the Dekkan, are they not the same Slavs who settled in the forests and along the rivers of pre-historic Russia?" Again, he remarks : " Clearly history is preparing new and complex problems in the East for the colonizing States of Western Europe, which are not really at home in Asia (as we Russians always have been and still are, without being aware of it), but appear in some measure as fortuitous and abnormal excrescences of her gigantic body." " The journey of the Cesarewitch through the civilized countries of the East is full of deep significance for Russia. The bonds that unite one part of Europe with Iran and Turan, and through them with India and the Celestial Empire, are so ancient and lasting that as yet we ourselves as a nation and a State do not fully comprehend their full meaning and the duties they entail on us, both in our home and foreign policy." The bearing of these sentiments is of great importance to England and the other Western Powers.

The author graphically describes what he saw in his tour, including the

enthusiastic receptions of His Majesty, the banquets, the religious rites and ceremonies, the temples and pagodas, and the habits, industries and sentiments of the various races and peoples with whom he met.

As they approached Benares the author says: "Archaic Benares, the fountain-head of Hindu beliefs and views of life incomprehensible to the European mind, rises before us on the bank (of the Ganges), glistening with the pale gray massive piles of its temples and palaces. On the opposite side lies a stretch of yellow sand. At the point now reached by our barge the river sweeps with a grand curve towards the 'city of the gods,' the city of the divine sun and of the temple mysteries. . . . The dull boom of a gong sounds from the lofty terrace of a temple on the steep bank, apparently summoning the crowd that rapidly gathers before it. What a motley throng it is! What undisguised curiosity at the sight of the Russian Grand Duke, combined at the same time with an irrepressible desire to devote themselves heart and soul to religious worship!"

Our space fails us to give further quotations from this most interesting and magnificent volume. Perhaps it stands unrivalled among the numerous English histories of travel in the "Far East."

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HARPER AND BROTHERS; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1900.

9. *Russia against India: The Struggle for Asia*, by ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN, formerly Deputy Commissioner, Burma, First Administrator of Mashonaland, Special Correspondent of the *Times* in the Far East, author of "China in Transformation," etc. Mr. Colquhoun, the well-known author on Eastern subjects, has exercised his skill in putting in a popular form his opinions on the relative positions of Russia and Britain, and even of Europe, towards India, China, and the East generally, in such a popular form as may be studied and appreciated by the general public. He lays down the principle that the English Government is ultimately guided and controlled by public opinion, and therefore public opinion, after all, is the master of the British Parliament.

Hence, the object of the present work is to instruct and impress upon the general public of England the vast interests at stake with reference to the progress of Russian influence and operations, affecting in the future not only our rule in India, but also our influence in China and other countries in the "Far East." The work contains a valuable historical introduction, a description of the country and people in Central Asia, the vast and rapid development of Russian railways, British rule in India, the relative position of Afghanistan and Persia, and the defence of India. The volume is accompanied with several valuable maps. Our space does not permit us to make many quotations, but the following is worthy of the closest attention: "India may, in fact, be regarded as the centre or pivot of Britain's Empire in the East," and "must be defended against foreign aggression. It is not only British supremacy in that country itself which is at stake: the uninterrupted intercourse with the Eastern colonies, and consequently the well-being of the colonies themselves, would at once be threatened should foreign invasion take place." Russia is doing as before

—"creeping on bit by bit" in such a way as to "avoid arousing the susceptibilities of the British public." Hence, Mr. Colquhoun's opinion is that with our frontiers in India we ought to adopt "a bold and comprehensive policy." "The true defence of the Empire is to preserve Afghanistan and Beluchistan as real barriers, which can only be done by developing and extending communications to Kabul, Kandahar, and Seistan." Fortified posts should be established in the Afghan territory, and depôts and magazines placed in such positions as are dictated by the geographical conditions of the country, having regard especially to the question of cultivation of the soil, a consideration affecting the future support of an army. "The growth of Russia in the East threatens, though indirectly, the whole of Europe, for once firmly established in Asia Minor, Constantinople would be in imminent danger, the commerce of the Mediterranean would eventually fall into her hands, and she would command, not merely the Indo-European overland highway, but the canal through the Isthmus of Suez." Mr. Colquhoun concludes his valuable work by saying: "Russia connecting Central Asia with the Persian Gulf by railways from Askabad southwards, and from Tiflis by Kars and the Turko-Persian frontier, thus making herself independent of the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, and cutting into the direct Indo-European line of overland communication, a conflict between East and West for the dominion of the old world is imminent. Slav and Saxon must contend for supremacy, even for equality, and upon the skill and determination of the two opponents hangs the future of Asia, and not only of Asia, but of Europe."

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WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON, 1900.

10. *The Awakening of the East—Siberia, Japan, China*, by PIERRE LEROY-BEAULIEU. Translated by Richard Davey, with a Preface by Henry Norman, author of "People and Politics of the Far East," "The Real Japan," etc. The author writes from personal observation. His observations are acute, and his statistics have been carefully collated. The work is written without prejudice of nationality, and gives a fair and just estimate of the relative political situation of the great Powers now interested in the welfare of China. He maintains the position, not the dismemberment of the Empire, but the theory and maxim, "China for the Chinese." As Mr. Norman correctly points out, the three chief aspects of the affairs of the Far East may be summed up as follows: the completion of a Russian continuous line of railway from Europe to the China Sea, the frontier of Korea, and the gates of Peking; the extraordinary progress of Japan, and its rise as a great Power, naval, military, and otherwise; and the recent course of events in China, compelling the great Powers to take action, and to occupy by their troops the capital of China. The strategical position of the several Powers, the development of the resources of the country by rail and ship, the diplomatic arrangements in the future, all point to significant and far-reaching consequences to the whole civilized world. Hence the importance of a patient perusal of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's work. It is accompanied with a very minute index of subjects and places.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1899.

11. *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*. Vols. III. and IV. The former of these handy and well-got-up volumes contains "Easy Lessons on Egyptian Hieroglyphics, with Sign List," by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Vol. IV. treats of "Babylonian Religion and Mythology," by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A., assistant in the same department of the Museum as that of Dr. Budge. These volumes are in succession to that of Dr. Budge in 1894, entitled "The First Steps in Egyptian," and the companion work, two years later, "An Egyptian Reading-book," and Mr. King's book, "First Steps in Assyrian," which appeared in 1898. The present volumes will prove as useful and successful as the former, and afford an easy and admirable introduction to larger works on the same subjects.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1900.

12. *A History of British India*, by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. II. In our July issue (pp. 220-223) of last year we gave a somewhat lengthy notice of the first volume of this admirable work. The present volume is written in the same facile and able style, bringing down the history of India to the union of her old and new companies, under the award of the Earl of Godolphin. It contains an introduction; the history of the Company and the King, 1623-1649; our first settlements on the Bombay Coast, 1637-1658; our first settlements on the Madras Coast, 1611-1658; our first settlements on the Bengal Coast, 1633-1658; the Company and the Commonwealth, 1649-1660; the Company's servants and trade to 1660; the Company under the Restoration, 1660-1688; the Company and Parliament, 1688-1698; the strife and union of the companies, 1698-1708; and an admirable index, full and complete, of all the topics and places embraced in the volume, which is beautifully printed, with numerous explanatory notes of great interest and value.

The editor, Mr. Roberts, in a sympathetic introduction, truly says: "There is something pathetic in the publication of a posthumous work. The pathos is deepened in the case of a writer suddenly called away in the midst of apparent health and vigour, as he stands on the threshold of a great literary undertaking. When Sir William Hunter, on January 24, 1900, penned the last words of Chapter VIII. (the last but one) in the present volume, it was little realized, either by himself or his friends, that the shadow of death had already fallen across his path. Yet so it was. A fortnight later he was lying dead—his end so sudden, so calm, and so mercifully wrapped in the sleep of unconsciousness, that he had no time to give more than a bare hint of his wishes as to the book he had left incomplete."

Though Sir William, unhappily, lived to carry out but a fragment of his original design, yet it may be said that he has left a complete and a monumental account of one great section of our history in India—the struggle for and attainment of commercial supremacy in the seventeenth century.



13. *The Forward Policy and its Results ; or, Thirty-five Years' Work Amongst the Tribes on our North-Western Frontier of India*, by RICHARD ISAAC BRUCE, C.I.E., formerly Political Agent, Beluchistan, late Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division, Punjab, India. A pleasing and very instructive volume of a faithful servant of the British Empire, who details his long experience, in various capacities, as to the best means of remedying the defects in our relations with the tribes of the North-West frontier of India, which in the future, as well as in the past, will call for the advice and judgment of our wisest statesmen at home and in India. The author's object in writing is his "great desire to be able to throw some light on the much-vexed question of the best system of management of those tribes, particularly as to the merits of the Forward Policy in our dealings with them, as compared with the old Close Border System," and he hopes by narrating his long experience, and drawing certain conclusions, his work will assist and enlist the sympathies of those who may be appointed to discharge similar duties towards advancing civilization among the various tribes in the North-Western provinces in India. While this is the author's aim, he has in his work, by illustrations and otherwise, recalled many pleasing reminiscences of persons and places he has met with or seen during his lengthened service. There is also an excellent map and index.

In reference to what are called "punitive expeditions," he says (p. 364): "In the face of such overwhelming and continued condemnation, the question naturally arises, Why is it that we are still obliged to resort so frequently to punitive expeditions? I hope I may not be considered very bold if I answer, what I have already endeavoured to make plain through these memoirs, that it is because tribal management by peaceful means and on lines that would—gradually, it may be, but surely—obviate the necessity for them has never received the attention and encouragement that it deserves. If there were in 1866 and 1877 cogent reasons against the policy, there are a thousand times greater reasons now, when the threads of our relationship and connection with the tribes have become so interwoven in the warp and woof of the whole plan of our frontier civil and military administration, by the enlistment of large numbers of them in our tribal levy corps, by the establishment of forts within their limits, by the subsidizing of their chiefs and maleks for all manner of duties, by the more recent inclusion of their hill tracts as fresh recruiting fields for our Indian army, and by any other means. These make it imperative that we should persevere, and leave no reasonable means untried." Again, he says (p. 368): "Let the pacification of the country, the civilization of the tribes, and the identification of their interests with those of the British Government, and the carrying of them with us in our measures, be our ultimate objective in all cases." These views are amply illustrated and confirmed by the numerous recorded incidents which have occurred in the author's long career, and also by those able and accomplished servants of the Crown, civil and military, which are narrated in this interesting and important work.

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LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *Semitic Text and Translation Series*. Vols. II. and III. Edited by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. Vol. II. of this admirably printed series contains, in the original, a number of letters and inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, about B.C. 2200, and a series of letters of other Kings of the First Dynasty, which have become available for publication since the appearance of the first volume. These letters include seven addressed by Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam; five to Samsu-iluna, son of Hammurabi, to various officials; and an interesting series of thirteen, written by Abēšu to the judges and other high officials of Sippar and Kar-Šamaš, which contain many interesting facts with regard to the internal administration of Babylonia during the period of the First Dynasty, and serve to supplement the information obtained from a study of Hammurabi's letters. The volume also includes the two native inscriptions of the latter, preserved in the Louvre, duplicates of the Babylonian and Sumerian building inscriptions of Samsu-iluna; a new edition of the text of the "Chronicles of Kings of the First Dynasty," and the text of a tablet which partly restores and continues that inscription. As an appendix to the text the plan of an old Babylonian building is included, drawn up in the period of the First Dynasty. There are no fewer than 107 plates, beautifully printed, and a frontispiece representing a facsimile of the "Chronicles of the Kings of the First Dynasty." There is also an index of the registration numbers of the tablets in the British Museum.

The third volume is a supplement to the second, and contains transliterations, translations, notes, introduction, vocabularies, etc. The total number of royal letters edited is eighty-one, arranged under the names of their writers, and grouped according to subject-matter. From the interesting information thus afforded, it is clear that at this period the Babylonians lived after an exceedingly primitive fashion, their pursuits being chiefly pastoral and agricultural, their religious ideas and beliefs being characteristic of their state of civilization. The notes and comments describe the probable circumstances in which each letter was written, and in the admirable and exhaustive introduction there is a brief summary of the principal facts which may be deduced from a general study of the letters. Complete vocabularies of Babylonian and Sumerian words, and an index to registration numbers, to texts and transliterations, and a general index are added. The volumes are handsomely bound and admirably printed, and will prove of great value and interest to students of Babylonian history and literature.

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HORACE MARSHALL AND SON, LONDON; THE MONARCH BOOK COMPANY,  
CHICAGO AND PHILADELPHIA.

15. *South Africa: its History, Heroes, and Wars* (in four books), by PROFESSOR W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, son of the Rev. John Mackenzie, assisted by ALFRED STEAD; illustrated with over eighty portraits and photographs. Professor Mackenzie, in compiling his history, is of opinion

that the chief fact which the British public ought now to grasp is, that South African States, European and Native, are far too heterogeneous and undeveloped to be at present moulded into a self-governing federation. Let that be clearly seen, and the problem becomes simply this: What are the best means of so establishing Imperial authority and control as to gradually bring all parts of the future magnificent dominion into the conditions which make, first, self-government, and then confederation, possible?

The work is voluminous, full of information, and interestingly written. The first book treats of the history of South Africa, its States and races, and some of the famous men and leading towns; book second, of Mr. Cecil J. Rhodes as the capitalist and politician; book third, Mr. Kruger, his early life and position; book fourth, the Boer War, its causes and progress.

Referring to the Colony of Natal, Professor Mackenzie states that the following principles were laid down by the British Government, to be observed by the subjects of the Queen: First, there should not be in the eyes of the law any discrimination founded upon distinction of colour, or language, or creed; second, no attacks should be made, by private persons or bodies of men, upon natives residing beyond the limits of the Colony without direct authority of the Government; and, thirdly, slavery, in any form and under any name, must be considered as unlawful within the Queen's dominions. Such principles were most distasteful to the Boers, and hence their immigration from Natal. The ideas of independence were in their minds from the very beginning, and the outcome of the whole, when the crisis came, is clearly expressed by Reitz, who "*tells us that the hope of throwing Great Britain out of South Africa has been strong in their hearts since 1880*" (p. 595). Professor Mackenzie concludes his fascinating work by saying that, if the facts narrated by him "carry fairly and clearly the interpretation put upon them, then the conclusion is obvious that Great Britain is fighting not really for a matter of internal legislation at Pretoria, but for her own Colonies, her own life, against a gigantic and an almost successful conspiracy, headed by President Kruger, Mr. Reitz, Dr. Leyds, President Steyn, and some others" (p. 607). Professor Mackenzie's work, we consider, is the best bird's-eye view of the whole scene yet published.

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JOHN MURRAY; LONDON, 1900.

16. *Lieutenant-Colonel John Haughton, Commandant of the 36th Sikhs: a Hero of Tirah*, a memoir by MAJOR A. C. YATE, 2nd (Duke of Connaught's Own) Baluch Battalion, F.R.G.S., author of "*England and Russia Face to Face in Asia*," etc. If we look carefully into the history of the Tirah Expedition, we shall find that all the names that attained prominence during it were those of officers of the Indian army, and among those names none stood higher—none, indeed, so high—as that of Lieutenant-Colonel John Haughton, Commandant of the 36th Sikhs. We do not forget that both Sir Alfred Gaselee and Sir Richard Westmacott won, and deservedly, the highest praise from both Sir George White and Sir William Lockhart for

their handling of their brigades ; but we say advisedly that *the* name that won the esteem of the Indian army in Tirah was that of John Haughton. Why General Hammond was never given a fair chance—why he was kept inactive at Barkai, when he might have rendered such valuable aid to Sir William Lockhart in his march down the Bara Valley—is a mystery which few can solve. Most military critics, however, will agree that such inaction was not consistent with the art of war, and that the explanation of it can only be sought at the headquarters of the Indian army at Simla.

It will be remembered by many that Colonel Haughton never saw active service before Tirah ; yet he was a conspicuous success—"the best leader of men I ever saw," says Lord Methuen. Major Yate has shown very good grounds for his contention that Haughton's military genius was hereditary. His father before had also, as a young subaltern in 1841, "at the first time of asking," showed himself a thorough soldier. His mother's brother, again, distinguished himself in the Mutiny. Thus, on both the father's and mother's side, Haughton came of a soldier stock.

John Haughton's first stepping-stone to fame was his employment as a Brigade-Major (under Sir George Wolseley) at the Delhi Camp of Exercise in 1885-86. From that time, until his death at Shinkamar, his preferment was steady and rapid. In 1897 his regiment was sent to garrison the Samana Forts, and in August and September of that year he had to face with his regiment a very dangerous situation. From 10,000 to 20,000 Orakzais and Afridis were swarming around Forts Gulistan and Lockhart and the minor forts, including that one the defence of which will be famous in the annals of frontier warfare, Saragarhi. Colonel Haughton was supported by a most able second in command, Major Des Vœux, and by as fine a set of officers as ever led a native regiment. Then followed the invasion of Tirah. He did well at the Sampagha and Arhanga Passes, and at Saran-Sar ; but it was his splendid nerve and resource at Tseri-Kandao that made his name a talisman throughout the Indian army. Then followed the most trying Dwatoi reconnaissance, in which he confirmed his laurels ; and, lastly, came the ill-fated Kajurai raid, in which he laid down his life to save his brother-soldiers.

On his title-page Major Yate has set a brief quotation from "Lumsden of the Guides." It is the tribute of Lumsden's biographers to Sir Colin Campbell. The words are : "In all retirements he stuck doggedly to the rear-guard, until he saw the last man safely out of danger." This, says Major Yate, was the motto which Colonel Haughton exemplified.

Major Yate's dedication and concluding chapter associate his book with the strong feeling that now exists in favour of military training in public schools. Of this Major Yate is a keen advocate, and he is evidently as keen an adversary of "cramming" as a passport to entrance into, and promotion in, the army. Haughton's own letters from Tirah are repeatedly quoted, and a most interesting letter from him, written ten days before his death, and addressed to Sir Charles Gough, is given in an appendix. No better or more succinct criticism on the Tirah Campaign has as yet appeared.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1900.

17. *Arabia: the Cradle of Islam—Studies in the Geography, People, and Politics of the Peninsula, with an Account of Islam and Mission-Work*, by REV. S. M. ZWEMER, F.R.G.S., with an introduction by REV. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. This handsome volume is the result of ten years' experience in Arabia as a member of the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America. Being familiar with the language and literature of the country, and having consulted the various works on the subject in English, German, French, and Dutch, he has presented a straightforward and clear description of the inhabitants and country, a scientific and academic investigation of the state of religion, as well as affording valuable information with respect to ethnology, geography, archæology, commerce, and politics. The volume also contains forty-five beautiful illustrations of places, persons, tombs, wells, and various other objects of interest; also eight maps and diagrams, a chronological table from the birth of Ishmael *circa* 1892 B.C. to A.D. 1886, a list of the Arab tribes of Northern Arabia, a concise Arabian bibliography of the geography, manners and customs, history and religion, language, literature, etc., of Arabia and a copious index. The perusal of the book will enlarge the knowledge and deepen the interest of the thoughtful reader.

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GRANT RICHARDS; LONDON, 1900.

18. *The Far East: its History and its Question*, by ALEXIS KRAUSSE, author of "Russia in Asia," "China in Decay," etc., with eight maps and five plans. The author has produced a volume of important information to the political student, whether he is an admirer of Russian policy or the reverse. He has, he believes, consulted every book on China, Japan, and Korea now obtainable, a valuable list of which is contained in the volume. He describes briefly the countries of the Far East, the dawn of Western influences, the opening up of China and the awakening of Japan, the rival policies, the duty of Britain and future prospects, and other subjects bearing upon the present situation in China. The appendices contain a chronological list of landmarks connected with the history of the Far East, and the treaties, conventions, despatches, and other diplomatic documents relating to the intercourse and policy of Russia, France, Germany, Japan, and Great Britain. The maps exhibit the distribution of the interests of the respective Powers, Russian railways in North China, and other particulars. Plans are given of Hong Kong and Kowloon, Wei Hai Wei, Kiao-Chau, Vladivostok, and Port Arthur. The bibliography of authorities is concise and important. The index of places, names, and subjects is minute and copious.

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

19. *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, by GEORGE BRYCE, M.A., LL.D., with numerous full-page illustrations and maps. This history includes not only the rise, progress, difficulties, and successes of

the Hudson's Bay Company, but also of other traders, such as the French of North-western Canada, and of the North-west, XY, and Astor Fur Companies. The volume is full of striking adventures and bold achievements of early pioneers, which resulted in adding an immense territory to Canada, as well as opening up the country, and promoting an industry of no ordinary value. A leading feature of the book is the treatment for the first time of the history of the well-nigh eighty years just closing from the union of all the fur-traders of British North America under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. This period, beginning with the career of the Emperor-Governor, Sir George Simpson (1821), and covering the life, adventure, conflicts, trade, and development of the vast region stretching from Labrador to Vancouver Island, and north to the Mackenzie River and the Yukon, down to the present year, is the most important of the Company's history, all of which are well and interestingly described by the author, who has visited many of the places referred to in his work, and, as he says, "has run the rapids, crossed the portages, surveyed the ruins of old forts, and fixed the localities of long-forgotten posts." He was, moreover, a favoured visitor among the principal officers of the Company, enjoyed their hospitality, read their journals, listened to their tales of adventure in many out-of-the-way posts, and from his work he is eminently fond of romance, story, and traditions of the roving fur-traders. He has also taken advantage of the information placed at his disposal from the official and other documents of the Hudson's Bay Company. There is some valuable information on the rise and object of what is called the "Riel Rebellion" and the origin of its disloyalty. The work is illustrated with many interesting portraits, representations of forts, rivers, scenery, and buildings, with numerous appendices, containing lists of authorities and references helpful to those who desire further information; lists of the Company's posts in 1856 in the several districts, and the number of Indians in each; a list of the chief factors, or principal officers of the Company, from the coalition of 1821 to 1896; the treaty with Russia as to Alaska, and a very exhaustive index. The work is valuable both for its interesting reading as well as for its vast amount of information on the development and capabilities of the vast region of the great North-west Canadian territory.

20. *European Settlements in the Far East*, with map and illustrations, by D. W. S. Considering the great interest taken in the countries of the "Far East," commercially and politically, this volume is valuable. It is a careful compendium of information, historical and otherwise, of Eastern Siberia, Japan, Corea, China, Hong-Kong, Macao, Indo-China, Siam, Straits Settlements, Netherlands India, the Philippines, and Borneo. There is a good map, showing the relative positions of those countries, with thirty-eight illustrations of towns, harbours, and other places. It will be useful as a handbook, not only to the political student, but also to travellers, merchants, and the general public. The statistics may be relied upon, as they are evidently derived from Blue Books and other authentic documents.



SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

21. *Biographical Notices of Officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers*, arranged and compiled by COLONEL SIR EDWARD T. THACKERAY, K.C.B., V.C. This is an interesting compilation of the distinguished services of the officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers, ranging from 1756 to the present time. It consists of biographical notices of thirty-four distinguished officers, many of whom, as Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Henry Durand, Sir John Cheape, and others, attained to the highest positions as soldiers, administrators, or men of science, and whose services in India and other countries are fully known and appreciated. Many of these notices are dispersed in various books, journals, and other publications, but Colonel Thackeray and other friends of that famous corps have wisely thought that such notices should be compiled and embraced in one volume. The notices are restricted to deceased officers only. There are excellent portraits of Lord Napier of Magdala, Major James Rennell, Colonel Richard Baird Smith, Sir H. M. Durand, and Colonel Sir John Bateman-Champain. The compilation is divided into five periods: the first from 1756 to 1800, the second from 1800 to 1850, the third from 1850 to 1860, the fourth from 1860 to 1870, and the fifth from 1870 to 1890. One of the latest biographies in the volume is that of Colonel Champain. Colonel Thackeray most truly says: "Rarely has the death of an officer of the corps been more keenly felt than that of Sir John Bateman-Champain by those of all ranks, civil and military" (among whom was the present writer). "The remarkable success which attended him in all his undertakings, especially in the chief work of his life, the existing system of telegraphic communication with India, was due in large measure to his great personal popularity, which formed one of the most distinguished characteristics of the man." "To those who did not know him, it is impossible to give an idea of the peculiar charm of his character. He was liked by all who met him, and loved by all who knew him. By his personal friends his loss will long be deeply mourned, and in their hearts—to use the expressive language of the country where so many of them are to be found—his place will ever remain empty." This interesting volume is charmingly written, and contains an excellent and exhaustive index.

22. *A Lifetime in South Africa. Being the Recollections of the First Premier of Natal*, by the HON. SIR JOHN ROBINSON, K.C.M.G., author of "George Linton," "The Colonies and the Century," etc. This volume brings us back over a period of fifty years, and indicates the growth of the British Colony in South Africa from its birth to its development at the present time. It produces irrefragable proofs as to the paramountcy of Britain in South Africa. There is a valuable and interesting introductory retrospect of personal life and experience during the last half-century, chapters on "The Outgoers," "The Governors," "The Voortrekkers," "The Settlers as Pioneers," "The Settlers as Soldiers," "The Settlers as Lawmakers," "The Settlers as Traders and Civilisers," "The Settlers as Neighbours," "The Natives," "The War, its Genesis and its Revelations," "The Outlook."

Sir John gives a minute description of the origin and the objects of the Bond, of which the war is the direct offspring. Important passages are quoted from a pamphlet, widely circulated, consisting of leading articles which appeared in a newspaper called the *Patriot*, as the recognised organ of the Bond, and in accordance with the Bond constitution, whose words in an abridged form are :

"The Bond knows no nationality whatever other than simply that of Africans." "Its object is the establishment of a South African nationality." "This object must be attained both by the promotion and defence of the national language (*Volkstaal*), and by Africans both politically and socially making their power to be felt as a nation." That means, by the press and guns. The whole country, as Sir John remarks, "was therefore to be covered by a network of Bond workers and organizers." He then quotes a few passages from the pamphlet referred to to illustrate and confirm his statement. They are as follows : "The Bond must be our preparation for the future confederation of all the States and Colonies of South Africa. The English Government keeps talking of a Confederation under the British flag. That will never happen. We can assure them of that. We have often said it. There is just one hindrance to confederation, and that is the English flag. Let them take that away, and within a year the confederation under the free African flag would be established."

"Away with the English flag. But so long as the English flag remains here, the African Bond must be one confederation. And the British will, after awhile, realize that Froude's advice is the best for them. They must have Simon's Bay as a naval and military station on the road to India, and give over all the rest of South Africa to the Africans. Africans must be on the top. Let us calculate it is we on top or they on top ; they must be under, or we under." The struggle for paramountcy was thus openly forecast nineteen years ago by the Boer leaders. Sir John then proceeds to narrate the various steps which the Bond was to take—in educating the people and youths, in the school, pulpit, and press ; in boycotting in every possible way the English trader, workman, and inhabitant ; and in procuring an abundance of ammunition of war of every kind, and in the training of every African in military practice and tactics. For these details we must refer our readers to the book itself.

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SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LIMITED ; LONDON, 1899.

23. *The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by GEORGE E. BOXALL. This volume of nearly 400 pages presents us with the history of bush-ranging, commencing with the great outbreak inaugurated by Frank Gardiner in 1861 up to the death of Ned Kelly, the last of the bush-rangers, in 1880. About 300 persons altogether were implicated during these twenty years, and the story points out that this brigandage was evolved from the convict system established as the basis of the earlier settlements, more particularly in Victoria, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land. The book is full of exciting episodes, and is not without interest.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, 1900.

24. *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*—*A Contribution to the History of India*. By ROBERT SEWELL, Madras Civil Service (ret'd.), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. This volume, of more than 400 pages, contains a pleasant and readable translation of two Portuguese Chronicles which have now appeared for the first time in an English dress. The history of these documents is given in the preface to the volume. The documents themselves possess a peculiar and unique value, especially that of Domingo Paes, as it gives a vivid and graphic account of his personal experiences at the great Hindu capital (Vijayanagar) at the period of its highest grandeur and magnificence—"things which I saw and came to know," and throws an interesting light on the condition of this ancient city, the representations of whose ruins, produced in the volume, exhibit traces of its grandeur and magnificence. Among the many well-executed illustrations of palaces and temples there are beautiful maps of the capital and environs, a plan of the central portion of the city, and an excellent map of Southern India. The volume affords a most interesting history of Southern India and its vicissitudes in the time of the famous Portuguese travellers Domingo Paes and Fernão Nuniz, a history which will be new to many in India and in Europe. There are also interesting appendices in reference to diamonds, the wealth of the Dakhan in the fourteenth century, tables of dates of the reigns of kings, genealogies of the Brahmin Dynasty, Sultans and Shâhs, and of the Portuguese Viceroys and Governors of Goa from A.D. 1505 to 1568, and a minute index.

THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY; LONDON AND BENARES, 1900.

25. *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*. By G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., M.R.A.S. A volume of more than 600 pages, written in a clear and elegant style. It is composed of brief sketches among the Gnostics, chiefly of the first two centuries, in all parts of the civilized world possessed of a literature. It is meant as a contribution to the study of Christian origins, based on the most-recently recovered materials, and in particular the Coptic Gnostic works. It is, we believe, the only work yet published which has brought together in one volume all the materials at present extant. The bibliographies in the volume are of a world-wide range, and will be most valuable to students of theosophy.

In the learned and exhaustive prolegomena the author indicates that the object of his work is "to point to certain considerations which may tend to restore the grand figure of the Great Teacher to its natural environment in history and tradition, and disclose the intimate points of contact which the true ideal of the Christian religion has with the one world-faith of the most advanced souls of our common humanity—in brief, to restore the teaching of the Christ to its true spirit of universality." The author holds there is but one religion for humanity; the many faiths and creeds are all streams or streamlets of this great river. And with this view he has carefully analyzed all known systems of religion. "The one religion," he says, "flows in the hearts of men, and the light-stream pours its rays into the soil of human nature. The analysis of a religion is,

therefore, an analysis of human kind. Every great religion has as manifold expressions as the minds and hearts of its adherents. The manifestation of its truth in the life and words of a great sage must differ widely from the feeble reflection of its light, which is all the dull intellect and unclean life of the ignorant and immoral can express." Hence, he argues, there are grades of souls, all at different stages of evolution. For instance, "all Hindus are not unintelligent worshippers of idols, and all Christians fervent imitators of the Christ." "If we would find the proper parallel to the holy life and best theology of Christendom, then we must go to the best theology and holiest lives of the Brāhmans." "It is within this class of minds that we must seek for the true nature of a religion. Here, then, we expect to find the real points of contact between the religion and its sister-faiths; and here we sense the presence of the glorious Spiritual Sun, the Parent of all the rays poured into the world."

The author concludes his world-wide researches by asking: "What, then, think ye of Christ? Must He not be a Master of Religion? Does He condemn His worshippers because their ways are diverse? Does He condemn those who worship His brethren who also have taught the Way?"

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T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1900.

26. *Sir Stamford Raffles. England in the Far East.* By HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, M.A., author of "A Short History of British Colonial Policy." This work forms a most interesting addition to the series of works titled "The Builders of Greater Britain," and its perusal will prove a useful model for young men commissioned to discharge the duties of an English official, from a clerk to a Governor of an Eastern country. The first step which this young man took was to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Malay language, and secondly, to make himself acquainted with the habits, customs, and disposition of the natives of the Malay States. Although a comparatively young man at his death, in 1826, he was only forty-six years of age, and having passed through many trials and discouragements, Mr. Egerton has applied to him the well-merited testimony, *in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, famâ rerum*. The appendix contains a document hitherto unpublished, being Sir Stamford's instructions with regard to the planning out of Singapore, which is of much interest. Sir Stamford, as well as an administrator, was a lover of nature and of natural history. He was the founder and first president of the Zoological Society, and at that early date portrayed, even to the minutest details, the plans and the hopes which have since been realized by that society.

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LA PRESSE ORIENTALE; SHANGHAI.

27. *Le Haut Yang-tse de I-tchang fou à Ping-chan Hien en 1897-98. Voyage et description.* By R. P. S. CHEVALIER, S.J. 2nd Part. This completes the issue to which we have previously alluded in this Review. There are 100 pages of travellers' experiences and reminiscences, themselves of great interest, and there are besides 100 pages of astronomical and other scientific observations, giving a fixed value to the book for all time.

E. H. P.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Student's Pali Series : Pali Buddhism*, by H. H. TILBE, M.A., Professor of Pali in Rangoon Baptist College, author of a Pali Grammar (Rangoon American Baptist Mission Press, 1900, and London, Luzac and Co.). A small handbook prepared specially for students. It contains a short introduction, a concise index, and four chapters—(1) Jambudipa ; (2) Gotama ; (3) Dhamma ; and (4) Sangha. The aim of this small work (about 50 pages) is to furnish a brief, reliable, clear, well-arranged and an inexpensive outline of Gotama's real life and teaching. It is well adapted for its purpose.

*Should I Succeed in South Africa ?* by a SUCCESSFUL COLONIST (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., London, 1900). A very practical, up-to-date guide for those desirous of settling in South Africa. It shows how men with brains and capital, and also those without money, can prosper. A very interesting book also for people at home, and well worth its price—one shilling.

*British Enactments in Force in Native States in India*, second edition, 2 vols. (Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1899. London : Constable and Co. ; Sampson Low, Marston and Co. ; Luzac and Co. ; Kegan Paul, Trench and Co.). One volume contains the enactments relating to Southern India (Madras and Mysore), the other relating to Southern India, comprising the Native States in Bengal, Assam, Burma, the N.W. Provinces, and the Punjab, the Native States of Kashmir and Nepal, and the Native States in Baluchistan. Both volumes are compiled by J. M. Macpherson, Secretary to the Government of India (Legislative Department), revised and continued by A. Williams, LL.M., I.C.S. That relating to Northern India is corrected to December 15, 1899, and that relating to Southern India to October 1, 1899.

*Lecture on Famines in India*, being the Inaugural Address in connection with the course of Lectures on Colonial and Indian Agriculture endowed by Messrs. Robert and John Garton in the University of Edinburgh, by Mr. Robert Wallace, Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economy (Edinburgh : Oliver and Boyd). A valuable and exhaustive treatise on the various phases of ancient and modern famines in India. It embraces an historical résumé of famines in the various provinces, the modes and methods of relief at various times to different classes of the community, and the means adopted to lessen such famines, by irrigation, railways, and otherwise. Professor Wallace concludes as follows : "It remains for us to express one very inadequate word of approval and appreciation of the magnificent work which is done during periods of famine by the British and native officers employed by the Government of India. It is almost impossible for an ordinary individual to realize the amount of painstaking and untiring labour and mental anxiety which is necessary to relieve, and to save from death, an army of labourers and camp-followers of considerably over 6,000,000 in number (the highest number during the first week of August, 1900, was 6,350,000). The system of Government administration . . . has

so fully conferred the blessings of stable government and social order on over 200,000,000 of people which has been for years the admiration of the civilized world. We may be permitted to claim that the triumphant application of the recently improved and almost perfect system of famine relief for India is perhaps the greatest administrative triumph of this or any time."

*A Grammar of the Pāli Language* (after Kaccāyana), by THA DO OUNG, late an Assistant-Surgeon, editor of the *Arakan Times*, Akyab (Akyab Orphan Press, Akyab and the Māhā Bodhi Book Agency, 2, Creek Row, Calcutta, 1899-1900; Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London). This grammar, full and exhaustive, consists of four volumes. The fourth is not yet published. The first volume contains Sandhi, Nāmana, Kāraka, and Samāsa; the second volume Taddhita, Kita, Unādi, Ākhyāta, Upasagga, and Nipāta particles; and the third volume a comprehensive dictionary of Pali word-roots. This grammar will prove exceeding useful.

*Maps Illustrative of the Preliminary Report*, by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, on the Protectorate of Uganda, presented to Parliament (Parl. Papers, Africa, No. 6, 1900; Eyre and Spottiswoode, London). In our last issue (pp. 411-412) we referred to the valuable report of the Special Commissioners. Since the publication of that report a series of three maps have been issued in connection therewith in colours. No. 1 illustrates the average altitudes, and the salubrity and insalubrity of each district; No. 2 shows the approximate rainfall and the degree of navigability of lakes and rivers; and No. 3 shows the relative density of the native population and the settlement of Europeans. The maps are exceedingly well executed, and will prove very valuable to those interested in the Protectorate of Uganda.

*Cairo and Egypt, and Life in the Land of the Pharaohs*, by HALLIL J. KEMEID, correspondent of the *Paris Matin*, second edition, re-written (Simpkin, Marshall, Ltd., London). This is a small but well-got-up pictorial and descriptive guide to Cairo and the Nile, with an illustrated account of a trip up the river by Sir George Newnes, Bart. It will be found useful for the ordinary visitor to Egypt in search of health and pleasure.

*Mahbūb-ul-Albāb*, محبوب الالباب, by KHĀN BAHĀDUR MOULVI KHUDĀ BAKHSH KHĀN-SĀHIB (printed in Haidarābād, Deccan, and dedicated to H. H. the Nizām). This is a volume of 858 pages in Persian, giving the titles, authors, and description of all the Persian and Arabic works in the Bankipore Oriental Public Library, and is arranged in alphabetical order. The author, who was sometime Chief Justice of Haidarābād, was also the founder of the above-mentioned library, which was presented to the public in 1891, and if not the best, it is considered one of the best in India. The catalogue is still incomplete, but the author hopes to complete it shortly. A copy of this catalogue has been presented to the library of the Oriental Institute, Woking, by the compiler's son, Mr. S. Khudā Bakhsh, B.C.L. (Oxon.).

No. 9. *The Rigveda*, by E. VERNON ARNOLD, Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales, Bangor (David Nutt, at the Sign of the Phoenix, Long Acre, London). This is one of a sixpenny series of



short "Popular Studies on Mythology, Romance, and Folklore." The writer endeavours briefly to indicate and illustrate the main principle by which the Rigveda can be properly studied for the purpose of comparative mythology—that is, by an effort to order the material so as to trace the slow but continuous change in the religious thought of the Aryan invaders of India.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following: *A List of Archaeological Reports* published under the authority of the Secretary of State, Government of India, local Governments, etc., which are not included in the Imperial series of such reports (Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1900);—*Journal of the International Physical Institute*, founded on June 30, 1900: November, 1900, No. 1 (Offices: Hôtel des Sociétés savantes, 28, rue Serpente, Paris);—*Der Islamische Orient, berichte und forschungen*, II., III. *China und der Islam—Zwei islamische Kantondrucke—Strassen durch Asien*, by Martin Hartmann (Berlin, Wolf Peiser Verlag, 1900);—*Zeitfragen die Krisis in Sudafrika, China, Commercielles und Politisches Kolonial Fragen*, by M. von Brandt (Berlin, Gebruder Paetel).

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain* for October, November, December—*The Wide World Magazine* for October, November, December—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for October, November, December—*The Strand Magazine* for October, November, December—*The Traveller—Khaki in South Africa—The C.I.V.; being the Story of the City Imperial Volunteers and Volunteer Regiments of the City of London, 1300-1900*, published at the offices of the Navy and Army Illustrated, 20, Tavistock Street, Strand, and by Newnes, Ltd.;—*Tit Bits*;—*Monster Arabian Nights*;—*Fights for the Flag*, by the Rev. W. H. Fitchett, author of "Deeds that Won an Empire";—*The Life of a Century, 1800—1900*, profusely illustrated, Parts 1 and 2; to be completed in twelve parts;—*The Indian Review* for September, October, November, 1900 (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Argosy* for October, November, December;—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Contemporary Review* (London, the Columbus Co., Ltd.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London, Archibald Constable and Co.);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, October, November, December (Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Somaires, Revue de la Presse* (Paris);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Die Kultur* (Vienna and Stuttgart);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (London, 38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika*, September, October, 1900 (Black Town, Madras);—

*The Madras Review*, August, 1900 (Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), October, 1900 (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxx., Parts 4 and 5 (Alfred Hölder, Vienna);—*The North American Review*, October, November, December (New York);—*The National Magazine* (Babu K. P. Dey, Calcutta);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel, secrétaire-général, Nos. 27 et 28, July and October, 1900 (Tunis, Imprimerie rapide, 1900);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto, Biggar Samuel and Co.);—*Sphinx*, revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'*Egyptologie*, by Karl Piehl (Upsala, C. J. Lundström; London, Williams and Norgate);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 17 series, Nos. 3 and 4 (Lisbon, Imprensa nacional, 1900).

We regret that for want of space we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following works till our next issue: *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era, as illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., D.C.L., many Years Consul and Minister in China and Japan*, by Alexander Michie, author of "The Siberian Overland Route," etc., 2 vols.; also *Khurasan and Sistan*, by Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., I.S.C., Agent to the Governor-General, and Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan, etc., with maps and illustrations (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, MDCCCC);—*Leading Points in South African History, 1486 to March 30, 1900*, arranged chronologically, with date-index, by Edwin A. Pratt, author of "Pioneer Women in Victoria's Reign," etc.; also *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in 1860*, by the late Henry Brougham Loch (Lord Loch), third edition, with illustrations, and a preface by Lady Loch (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, 1900);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. i. (Luzac and Co., London, 1900); *Le Rig-veda, texte et traduction, neuvième mandala, le culte védique du Soma*, par Paul Regnaud, professeur à l'université de Lyon (Paris, J. Maisonneuve, libraire-éditeur, 6, rue de Mézières et 26, rue Madame, 1900);—*The Settlement after the War in South Africa*, by M. J. Farrelly, LL.D., barrister-at-law, advocate of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1900);—*The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyam*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, with a commentary by H. M. Batson, and a biographical introduction by E. D. Ross (Methuen and Co., London, 1900);—*Irene Petrie, Missionary to Kashmir*, by Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, B.A., with portraits, map, and illustrations (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1900);—*The Order of Isis: a Story of Mystery and Adventure in Egypt*, by James Bagnall Stubbs, author of "Ora pro Nobis" (Skeffington and Son, Piccadilly, London, 1900);—*Monte Singar, storia di un popolo ignoto. Testo Siro-Caldeo e traduzione italiana*, by Samuele Giamil (Rome, E. Laescher and Co., 1900);—*The Practical Study of Languages: a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by H. Sweet, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (J. M. Dent and Co., London, 1899);—*Four Months Besieged*,

*the Story of Ladysmith: being Unpublished Letters from H. H. S. Pearse, the "Daily News" Special Correspondent*, with maps and illustrations (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, and the Macmillan Company, New York, 1900);—*Wild Sports of Burma and Assam*, by Colonel Pollok, late Staff Corps, and W. S. Thom, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Burma, with illustrations and maps (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 13, Great Marlborough Street, London, 1900);—*Voices of the Past, from Assyria and Babylonia*, by Henry S. Robertson, B.A., B.Sc. (George Bell and Sons, London, 1900);—*The Great Famine and its Causes*, by Vaughan Nash (Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Bombay, 1900).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—His Excellency Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, left Simla in October last on a tour. After visiting Karachi and the Rao of Bhuj, he proceeded to Rajkot, where a Grand Durbar was held, and H.E. addressed the Chiefs of Kathiawar. Thence he went to Bijapur. At Cochin he was received enthusiastically by its Raja and people. Travancore was the next place. His visit was a great success. It was the first time a Viceroy of India had ever visited these two places. H.E. reached Mysore on November 30, and was received in great state by the Maharaja and all the chief officials. His tour ended by a visit to Seringapatam, Bangalore, and the Kolar Gold Fields.

The number of persons in receipt of relief at the commencement of October was 3,163,000. At the beginning of last month (December, 1900), the number had dwindled to 420,000, made up as follows: Bombay, 257,000; Central Provinces, 76,000; Berar, 28,000; Rajputana Native States, 5,000; Central India Native States, 3,000; Bombay Native States, 27,000; Baroda, 16,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 2,000; Haidarabad, 6,000.

The rainfall has been exceptionally heavy in Central Bengal and Behar, general in Northern India, Central Provinces, and Rajputana, but it is still wanted in Bombay, Karnatik, Deccan, and Gujarat.

A committee has been inquiring into the possibilities of establishing the sugar industry in Behar, where indigo has become unprofitable.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The Mahsud Waziris have been making petty raids and giving much trouble on the frontier. During one of these, Lieutenant Hennessy, of the 45th Bengal Infantry, was mortally wounded in an encounter with them at Jandola on October 23.

Some 500 representatives of the Mahsudis met the Commissioner of Derajat on November 8, when payment from them of a lac of rupees was demanded. Time was given them, and in the meanwhile 4,000 troops, besides police, are prepared to blockade their country.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has conferred the Kaisar-i-Hind medal on the Maharani Saheba of Hutwa, in the Saran District, Bengal. She was the able administrator of the kingdom during the minority of her son.

Colonel Hunter, the Political Agent of Porbander, has installed His Highness the Rana Saheb on the *gadi*.

Bala Saheb has been installed on the *gadi* of Ramdurg by Major Davies, the Political Agent in charge of the Southern Maratha Country Jagirs.

At a meeting held at Haidarabad, Deccan, under the presidency of the Prime Minister, it was decided to establish a large central orphanage there for the children whose parents and relatives died during the famine. It is expected that about three lacs will be raised.

CEYLON.—Sir West Ridgeway, the Governor, opened the Legislature on October 18. In his speech he referred to the prosperity of the colony.

The public health is good, and there is no plague. The revenue for 1899 amounted to Rs. 25,913,141, surpassing that of any previous year, and has yielded a surplus of Rs. 962,202 over the expenditure. The revenue for the first eight months of the current year showed an increase of Rs. 740,487 over the estimate. The estimated revenue for 1901 was Rs. 26,320,000, and the expenditure Rs. 26,226,814.

**BURMA.**—The Burma Railway Company's earnings for the first half of 1900 have been placed at Rs. 45,17,000, against the same in the second half of 1899 of Rs. 35,84,345.

**PERSIA.**—Disturbances having broken out on the Turkish frontier of Azerbaijan, and bands of brigands having caused much terror and desolation, the Government have sent troops to the spot.

The Russian Government, having decided to create several new consulates, vice-consulates, and consular agencies, has already made several appointments in some towns in the South of Persia.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—The Amir is reported to be in good health. The British Agent, Rassaldar-Major Nawaz Khan, has arrived in Kabul and taken up his appointment.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—The subscriptions for the Hejaz Railway have reached £800,000, including the Sultan's subscription of £T50,000, and the contribution of one month's pay exacted from all officials.

An Imperial *Iraddé* prohibits star-worship and Sabianism in Turkey.

Much misery exists among the Armenians of Mûsh and Vân, their crops and cattle having been carried off by the Kurds, and many having died of starvation. The Council of the Armenian Patriarchate has suspended its sittings, owing to its requests being disregarded by the Government.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—The construction of the permanent way of the branch line of the Central Asiatic Railway to Bokhara was completed on November 20 last. The line, which is 12 versts long, is being built at the Amir's expense, and will be finished shortly. It is estimated that the goods traffic over the line will amount to 6,000,000 poods annually.

**STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAYA.**—The revenue for 1901 has been estimated at just 6½ million dollars, or nearly 1½ million dollars more than for 1900. The expenditure has been estimated at 6,692,884 dollars.

**CHINA.**—Mr. de Giers withdrew the Russian Legation from Peking to Tien-tsin on September 29, but was afterwards ordered by his Government to return. On October 3 the British and Italian troops occupied the Summer Palace, displacing the Chinese officials, to whom the Russians, without consulting their allies, had restored the buildings. The Germans held the Palace of the Dowager-Empress, which the Russians had also returned to the Chinese. Russia has restored the Tsung-li-Yamên to the Chinese.

All the foreign Ministers have addressed Notes to Prince Ching, suggesting the return to Peking of the Emperor and the Court.

Four thousand British, German, Italian, and French troops left Peking for Pao-ting-fu on October 12, which was occupied without opposition on October 21. Mr. Green, an English missionary, and his family were here rescued, and several officials were tried and executed for complicity in the

massacre of the missionaries there. The town of Tse-tsing-Kuan was afterwards taken by storm, and the allied troops then returned to Peking, after destroying all the villages on their way back.

Fifty-six missionaries in North Shan-si, hitherto missing, are now known to have been all massacred.

The foreign Ministers in Peking finally agreed to present a conjoint Note to the Chinese Government as a basis for a preliminary treaty as follows: China to erect a monument to Baron von Ketteler at the site of the murder, and send an Imperial Prince to Germany to convey an apology. China to inflict the most severe punishment on the guilty high officials and Princes. Indemnity to be paid to States, corporations, and individuals. The Tsung-li-Yamen as at present constituted to be abolished, and its functions invested in a Foreign Minister, as in civilized countries. Reasonable intercourse shall be permitted with the Emperor. The Ta-Ku forts and other forts on the coast of Chi-li to be razed. The importation of arms and war material to be prohibited. Permanent Legation guards to be maintained, as also guards of communication between Peking and the coast. Imperial proclamations to be posted for two years throughout the Empire suppressing the Boxers.

Li Hung Chang, in communicating an Imperial edict imposing punishments on the Princes and officials on whom the Powers demand death sentences, submits that this is the extreme punishment: Tuan is sentenced to banishment for life, and "imprisonment" at his ancestral home; Duke Lan has his salary stopped, and is reduced one step in rank; another is to retire and reflect on his sins; Chao Shu-chiao is deprived of his rank, but retains office; Yu Hsien is banished. Tung-fuh-siang is omitted entirely, protected by his present military power; but for his domination, it is said that the Court would return to Peking. It is said that Tung-fuh-siang has been ordered to retire with his troops to Kan-su, and that the Court is preparing to leave Si-ngan-fu for an unknown destination.

His Excellency Sir E. Satow arrived at Peking on October 20, escorted by the Australian contingent; and Sir Claude MacDonald left on the 25th for Japan.

Admiral Alexieff has addressed a communication to Li Hung Chang asking the intentions of China with regard to MANCHURIA, and inviting China to resume the Government of that province under the protection of Russia. The total number of Russian troops put on a war-footing in the Pe-chi-li province in Manchuria, and along the Chinese frontier in Siberia, amounts to 3,900 officers and 173,000 men, with 340 guns. The total of Russian losses up to November 1 last was 23 officers and 256 men killed, and 67 officers and 1,305 men wounded.

The following is a summary of an agreement arrived at between Great Britain and Germany: Both Governments, being desirous of maintaining their interests in China, and their rights under existing treaties, will observe the following principles: That the rivers and littoral of China remain free and open to trade. They will not take advantage of the present complications to secure any territorial advantages, and will try to maintain undiminished the territorial condition of China. In case of another Power



making use of the complications in order to obtain territorial advantages, the two parties reserve to themselves to come to a preliminary undertaking as to the steps to be taken for the protection of their own interests. This agreement has been communicated to the other Powers, who have been invited to accept the principles recorded therein.

**HONG KONG.**—The estimated revenue for 1900 is \$3,909,349, and the expenditure \$3,994,270, showing a deficit of \$84,921. These figures do not, however, include an estimated surplus in hand at the end of the current year of \$846,507. The rate of exchange for the China dollar for the last quarter of 1900 was 2s.

**JAPAN.**—The new Cabinet formed by the Marquis Ito is composed as follows: Mr. Kato Takaaki, formerly Japanese Minister to Great Britain, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Baron Suyetatin, Interior; Viscount Katsura, War; Admiral Yamatato, Marine; Viscount Watanabe, Finance; Baron Kaneko, Justice; Mr. Mathuda, Education; Mr. Hoshi, Communications; Mr. Hayashi, Agriculture and Commerce.

**EGYPT.**—The total receipts for the year 1900 are estimated at £10,700,000, and the total expenditure at £10,636,000, showing a surplus of £64,000. The estimated receipts for 1901, as compared with 1900, show an increase of £320,000; while the expenditure for 1901 shows an increase of £95,000, as compared with 1900. The Budget for 1901 shows a real surplus of £549,000, of which £485,000 will be paid to the reserve fund, leaving £64,000 at the disposal of the Government. The principal feature of the Budget is the abolition of the lock dues, and dues payable for passing under the river railway bridges, which will prove a great boon to the river boatmen, who are a very poor class.

**EAST AFRICA.**—Local disturbances broke out in the Wa Nandi district of the Uganda Protectorate. The cause was said to be discontent with the hut-tax.

During the punitive operations Dr. Sherlock, of the Medical Department, was killed in action, and Lieutenant Kennett Henderson, I.S.C., severely wounded. The Chief Commissioner, Sir H. Johnston, has since reported that the troubles are practically at an end.

The Ogaden Somalis have risen against the Government in the Jubaland province of British East Africa. Mr. A. C. W. Jenner, Sub-Commissioner, has been murdered, after leaving the seaport of Kismayu on an inland tour. Colonels Ternan and Hatch, of the Protectorate Force, have left Mombasa for Kismayu.

**SOUTH AFRICA.**—At the time of going to press at the end of last September, General Pole-Carew, with 9,000 men, was in possession of Komati Poort. Much ammunition and an enormous amount of rolling-stock was found on the main and on the Selati railway-lines, most of it in good order. Many big guns were found destroyed. The Delagoa-Johannesburg Railway was soon reopened for traffic, and large quantities of supplies were sent for our troops by the British Consul at Lourenço Marques, where the Portuguese authorities have proved most obliging. A parade of all the troops at Komati Poort was held in honour of the King of Portugal's birthday, when many Portuguese officials attended.

On October 21 ex-President Kruger sailed from Lourenço Marques for Europe on board the Dutch cruiser *Gelderland*, placed at his disposal by the Dutch Government. He landed at Marseilles on November 22.

The ceremony of proclaiming the Transvaal part of the Empire took place at Pretoria on October 26, and was most impressive.

A spirit of active hostility still continues amongst the Boers both in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, where many marauding columns and commandos are still at large.

Mr. Steyn is still encouraging them to keep up a hopeless struggle by deceiving them with false accounts of their successes. De Wet, who has between 2,000 and 3,000 men with him, was attacked near Bothaville on November 5 by Colonel Le Gallais, who gained a great success, but unfortunately the latter was killed during the engagement.

The garrison of Dewetsdorp, 450 in number, consisting of detachments of the Gloucestershire Regiment, Highland Light Infantry, and Irish Rifles, with two guns of the 68th Field Battery, surrendered to De Wet on November 23. The British loss was fifteen killed and forty-two wounded. The prisoners were afterwards liberated. A column which had been sent from Edenburg to relieve Dewetsdorp did not arrive in time. General Knox afterwards occupied the latter place, which was found evacuated. Columns under Colonels Pilcher, Barker, and Herbert have successfully cut off the Boer force under De Wet from the Orange River.

On November 16 the police at Johannesburg arrested five Italians, four Greeks, and a Frenchman, who were charged with intending to explode a mine in St. Mary's Church during service on November 18, and blow up Lord Roberts.

Lord Kitchener has succeeded Lord Roberts as Chief in Command, and the latter, on his way to England, has everywhere received a most enthusiastic welcome.

General Baden-Powell has taken over the command of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony's police, which it is proposed shall consist of 12,000 men.

Remarkable revelations have been made at the sittings of the Transvaal Concessions Commission in Pretoria as to the active hostility of the Netherlands Railway management. They had destroyed bridges on British territory, paid their staff on commando, and assisted the late Free State with men and material. The wholesale bribery of the leading Transvaal officials and the members of the Raad by the Dynamite Company was also investigated.

NATAL.—Residents of Northern Natal have been allowed to return to their homes on production of evidence that they are *bonâ fide* residents.

On his way home to England in October last, General Sir Redvers Buller was presented at Pietermaritzburg with a sword of honour in recognition of the great services he had rendered to the colony.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—The transcontinental telegraph-line is completed to Kituta, at the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and is expected to be carried across the Anglo-German frontier to Kassanga, the German station north of Kituta, very shortly.

WEST AFRICA.—Sir J. Willcocks gained a decisive victory on September 30 over a large rebel force at Obassa. The casualties among our troops were three killed and twenty-eight wounded.

A message from Kwsa dated November 20 states that Chief Kobina Cherry of Odumassi, a ringleader of rebellion, was captured by troops under Lieutenants Kingston and De Putron near Onumassi on November 14. This is considered a very important capture.

Major Matthew Nathan, R.E., C.M.G. (lately acting Governor of Sierra Leone), has been appointed Governor of the GOLD COAST in succession to Sir F. Mitchell Hodgson, K.C.M.G., who has been appointed to be Governor of Barbados.

Sir Charles Anthony King-Harman, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of SIERRA LEONE, in succession to Colonel Sir Frederic Cardew, K.C.M.G.

Sir George Chardin Denton, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Administrator of the GAMBIA.

ABYSSINIA.—The question of the frontier between Erythrea and Abyssinia has been settled. The latter recognises the course of the rivers Mareb, Belesa, and Muna as the frontier-line. Italy indemnifies Menelik for the tribute he would have been justified in collecting from the cis-Mareb provinces of Ocule-Cusai and Serae ceded to Abyssinia by the treaty of 1897.

CANADA.—At the elections which were held early in November last, Sir Wilfred Laurier was re-elected Premier.

Sir Charles Tupper, who was defeated, has retired from public life.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Bond party has gained a decisive victory in the elections, carrying thirty-two out of thirty-six seats.

AUSTRALASIA: NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the quarter ending with last September was £2,263,791, being an increase of £19,603 over the returns for the corresponding period of 1899. The estimated expenditure during the current year is £10,331,170 and the revenue £10,360,899. £105,000 is devoted to plague and war expenditure.

Parliament has been prorogued until January 16. The Legislative Council has passed the Old Age Pensions Bill, but rejected the Woman's Suffrage Bill. The rainfall has been excellent.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the quarter ending September last amounted to £1,772,239, an increase of £41,515 over last year.

The following is the constitution of the new Ministry: Sir G. Turner, Premier, Treasurer, and Commissioner of Customs; Mr. J. A. Isaacs, Attorney-General; Mr. A. J. Peacock, Chief Secretary and Minister of Labour; Mr. W. A. Trenwith, Minister of Railways and Public Works; Mr. J. Morrissey, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. W. Gurr, Postmaster-General; Mr. Gilliotte, without portfolio; Mr. D. J. Duggan, Minister of Lands; Mr. J. B. Burton, Minister of Mines and Water; Mr. Wynne, Solicitor-General; Mr. Macculloch, Minister of Defence; Messrs. McGregor, Crooke, and Phillips, honorary members.

General rains have fallen throughout the colony.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year amounted to

£2,875,390, exceeding the estimate by £79,000. The expenditure was £2,615,675, being £25,000 under the estimate. The year closed with a credit of £12,371. The imports amounted to £4,473,532, and the exports to £6,985,642. The receipts and expenditure of railways showed a saving of £374,095, sufficient to pay 4 per cent. on the cost and to provide 1 per cent. for the sinking fund. The gold that has been exported and minted amounted to £21,000,000, more than half of this having been produced in the last two years.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the quarter ending September 30 amounted to £1,210,300, expenditure £794,300, as compared with £1,253,300 and £653,600 respectively for the corresponding period of 1899.

NEW ZEALAND.—Parliament unanimously resolved to annex the Pacific islands of Raratonga, Mangaia, Atiu, Aitutaki, and Mitiero in the Hervey group; Palmerston, Savage and Pukapuka; and Rakakanga and Manahiki in the Penrhyn group. Lord Ranfurly, the Governor, visited the islands in October and November, and formally annexed them.

Mr. Seddon has opposed the union of New Zealand with the Australian Federation in the present circumstances.

The exports for 1900 were estimated at £13,000,000, and the imports at £10,000,000.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following:—Lieutenant-General Cecil d'Urban La Touche (Persia 1856-57, Satpura, Afghanistan 1880);—Colonel E. J. Stracey-Clitherow, formerly of the Scots Guards (Crimea);—Colonel Leonard Sidebottom-Vinner, formerly of the Buffs (Crimea);—Commander Herbert George Paris (Egypt 1882, Eastern Sudan 1884);—The Hon. F. G. Marchand, Premier of the Province of Quebec;—Earl Howe (Kaffir war 1852-53, Mutiny);—Major Lionel James Trafford, late Royal Sussex Regiment (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Mr. Arthur Thompson, a Judge in the Indian Civil Service;—Major William Hart McHarg (Crimea, China);—Major-General R. W. Bland-Hunt, R.M. (Baltic, Jamaica 1864, Zulu war 1879);—Major-General W. H. Binny, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Captain the Hon. F. G. Crofton, R.N. (Baltic, China 1857);—Mr. William John Dickson, late H.M.'s Minister at Bogota, and for many years appointed at the Court of Persia;—Rev. W. Muirhead, D.D., at Shanghai, a veteran missionary of the London Missionary Society;—General Sir Anthony Blaxland Stranshan, late R.M. (Navarino, China 1840-41, Baltic 1854);—Major-General J. B. Knocker, formerly Indian Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Captain N. J. H. Powell, 23rd Bengal Pioneers (Miranzai expedition 1891);—Colonel A. H. Fraser, Adjutant-General North-West Military District India (Abyssinia 1867-68);—Dr. A. de Noë Walker, formerly of the Indian Army (China 1842, Crimea);—Lieutenant-General H. P. Hawkes, C.B., late Madras Staff Corps (Abyssinian war 1867-68, Malay Peninsula 1876, Burma 1886-87);—Lieutenant-General J. I. Macdonell, late 71st Highland Light Infantry (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, North-west Frontier 1863);—Captain J. G. Dathan, R.N. (Baltic, China 1862);—

Colonel A. Higgins, C.I.E., late Commandant 1st Panjab Volunteer Rifles (Sikh campaign), one of the oldest residents of Lahore, and thirty years in the Volunteers;—Lieutenant-Colonel M. R. Ryan, R.A.M.C., principal army medical officer at Hong Kong;—Captain A. D. Stewart, 1st Batt. Rifle Brigade, killed in South Africa (Burma campaign 1886-88, Ladysmith relief force);—Colonel J. Pickard-Cambridge (thirty-five years' service in the Indian Army);—Colonel T. H. Stoton (China 1860-61, Khond country 1882);—Captain H. T. Clements (Persia 1857, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant C. H. Martin, 4th Bengal Lancers, I.S.C.;—The French Bishop of Canton;—Captain F. Bruce, I.S.C. (at Tien-tsin);—Lieutenant H. Kerr Attfield, in South Africa (Tirah campaign);—Mr. Richard Williams Barington, formerly a Captain in the Honourable East Indian Company's Service (Indian Mutiny and Burma campaigns);—Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., Military Knight of Windsor (Indian Mutiny);—Mr. W. Southey-Whiteside, Madras Civil Service;—Sir Roderick William Cameron (Honorary Commissioner from Canada to the Sydney Exhibition of 1879 and Victorian Exhibition in 1880);—Captain the Hon. F. C. P. Vereker, R.N. (East Coast of Africa, Egypt 1884-85);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. Lowry, late 8th (the King's) Regiment (Crimea);—Colonel H. T. Halahan, late of the Buffs (China 1860, Zulu campaign);—Major Peter Forbes, formerly Quartermaster of the Highland Light Infantry (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Umbeyla 1868);—General A. Carnegie, C.B., late commanding the Northern Division of the Bombay Army (Mutiny, etc.);—Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals G. T. Galbraith, M.D. (New Zealand war 1846, China 1860);—Dr. William Anderson, F.R.C.S., formerly Medical Director of the Naval Medical College of Tokio; Surgeon-General Jones Lamprey (retired) (North China 1860);—Mr. James Kernan, Q.C., late Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Madras;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Barton Gray, 2nd Batt. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Batten, I.S.C., 15th Bengal Lancers (Jowaki expedition 1877, Afghan war, Chitral Relief Force);—Lieutenant-Colonel G. G. J. Sutton Jones, I.S.C. (Zulu campaign 1879);—Major J. Hanwell, R.F.A., killed in South Africa (Burma 1886);—Sir George Allen, K.C.I.E., founder of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*;—Captain F. S. Stayner, 1st Gloucestershire Regiment (South African campaign);—The Sahibzadah, Sir Obeidullah Khan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., uncle of the Nawab and Minister of the State of Tonk;—Hakim Amjad 'Ali Khan;—Mr. Kaikhusro Hormusji Alpaiwalia, formerly of the Educational Department;—H.R.H. Prince Christian Victor, at Pretoria, from enteric fever;—Professor Max Müller, a great scholar, writer, and Orientalist;—Captain H. K. Leet, R.N. (West Coast of Africa, Crimea, China 1857-60);—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, G.C.S.I., an enlightened and progressive Indian Prince;—Major-General Sir Charles Taylor du Plat, K.C.B.;—Mr. W. H. Griffin, C.M.G., formerly Deputy-Postmaster-General of Canada;—Major-General A. H. Bogle, formerly of the Bengal Artillery (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Abyssinia 1868);—Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Philip W. J. Le Gallais, killed in South Africa (Egypt 1897-98);—Captain F. J. Engelbach, killed in South Africa (Chitral Relief Force 1895, Niger opera-

tions 1897-98);—Mr. Sorabji Jahangir Taleyarkhan, a well-known Parsi;—Babu Ram Kali Chowdri, a foremost member of the Native Judicial Service North-West Provinces;—Mufti Amir Ahmad Minai of Lucknow, a famous Urdu poet and lexicographer, and Arabic and Persian scholar;—Rev. Dr. J. C. Corlette, chaplain to the Primate of Australia;—General Brooke Boyd, late of the Bengal Infantry (Sutlej 1846, Burma 1852-53);—Captain H. J. Hare, R.E. (Waziristan expedition 1895);—Deputy-Surgeon-General George Mackay, formerly of the Honourable East India Company's Service (Mahratta war 1844, Burma 1852);—Captain G. A. Douglas, R.N. (Baltic 1855, China 1859-60);—Commander H. Talbot, R.N. (Suakin 1884-85);—Admiral the Hon. W. John Ward (China 1857);—Lieutenant-General R. T. Glyn (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Kaffir war 1877-78, Zulu war 1879);—Major-General J. W. Hoggan C.B. (Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-80);—Major R. A. F. Studdert, R.M.A. (Crimea, China 1857-59);—Colonel F. C. St. John, late Indian Staff Corps (Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1885-86);—General Sir George Willis, G.C.B. (Crimea, Egypt 1882);—Major-General T. H. Clifton (Crimea);—Colonel C. H. Bridges, J.P., retired Indian Staff Corps (China 1860-61, Umbeyla 1863, Looshai 1871-72, Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General Roderick Donald Macpherson, Bengal Staff Corps (Burma 1852-53, Sonthal campaign 1855);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Lewis, 7th Dragoon Guards (Kaffir war 1846-47, Egypt 1882);—The Hon. Donald MacInnes, of the Canadian Senate;—Surgeon-General G. V. Currie, formerly Indian Medical Service (Mutiny campaign, Eusofzai, and Swat expeditions of 1866, and Afghan war 1879);—Captain P. Barter, R.A.M.C. (Tirah expedition, 1897);—General E. D. Watson, late 11th Native Infantry, Bengal Army (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864-65).

*December 15, 1900.*







Died at Osborne, 22nd January, 1901.

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

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APRIL, 1901.

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THE FAMINE IN INDIA, 1899-1900.

BY SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

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I.

WHEN I wrote my paper on the famine of 1896-97, which was published in the July, 1899, number of this Review, there was nothing to indicate that we were then on the verge of another failure of the monsoon, and that in the ensuing October the Indian Government would have to enter on a second campaign against famine. Even then, in October, 1899, it was not supposed that the drought had been very severe and the destruction of crops very great, though it was known that the tract of country afflicted was, to a large extent, identical with that which had suffered in 1896-97, and that as there had not been time for stores to be replenished and for the people to rise to the old level of comfort, their resisting-power would be less than usual. The event has, however, shown that this forecast underrated the extent and intensity of the calamity impending over the country. The North-West Provinces, which had been hardest hit before, and Bengal, were scarcely touched, but it fell with tremendous severity on the Central Provinces and Bombay, which had already suffered so grievously in 1896-97, and it enveloped a greater area of the territory of Native States in the centre and west of India than had ever previously been attacked by the scourge in modern history.

The famine commenced with the failure of the rains of

1899, and it continued till the crops harvested after the rains of 1900 had removed the greater part of the distress. Relief operations began in October, but I have taken December, 1899, as the initial month of the campaign, and December, 1900, as the period of its close, though there has been a revival of trouble in some parts of Bombay, and relief is still required there. But though the stress of the famine may be said to have terminated with the close of the century, it is not yet time to write a full account of its history and results. A Commission has been appointed by the Viceroy, and is now sitting, to inquire into and report on the nature and success of the relief measures ; and till that report is received, it would be premature to throw out suggestions or conclusions based on insufficient data. All that we have at present to work on are the statistics of the area and population afflicted, the number of persons who received relief, the nature of the relief given, and the Government outlay incurred in consequence of the famine. I propose, therefore, in the present article to confine myself to this branch of the subject, and to deal with statistical questions only, leaving administrative questions and the lessons learnt in dealing with the famine for treatment at a subsequent time.

The following table gives a bird's-eye view of the area and population affected by the great famines of the latter half of the nineteenth century :

Year.	Province Affected.	Area, square miles.	Population.
1865-66 ...	Bengal, Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Bombay ... ..	180,400 ...	47,600,000
1868-69 ...	Rajputana, North-West Provinces, Punjab, Central Provinces, Bombay ... ..	296,200 ...	44,400,000
1876-78 ...	Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Punjab, North-West Provinces, Hyderabad	257,000 ...	58,000,000
1896-97 ...	North-West Provinces, Bengal, Punjab, Central Provinces, Berar, Bombay, Madras ... ..	267,000 ...	70,000,000
1899-1900...	Bombay, Central Provinces, Berar, Punjab, Rajputana, Central India, Hyderabad, and Baroda ...	642,500 ...	81,000,000

The forecast made by the Government of India in October, 1899, anticipated that the area affected would be 350,000 square miles, with a population of 30,000,000. In January, 1900, these figures were raised to 445,000 square miles, and 61,500,000 souls. Both these estimates have proved to be under the mark, though in the latter case the calculation for British territories was close to the truth. It was the extent of distress in the Native States that was underrated.

The geographical incidence of these famines deserves attention. That of 1865-66 had its centre of intensity in Orissa and the East Coast districts of Madras, and extended thence inland to the West, with less severity. That of 1868-69 fell heaviest on Rajputana, and was felt in a slighter degree by the surrounding British territory as far south as the Nerbudda. The great southern famine of 1876-78 was most acute in Madras and Mysore, the south of Hyderabad and Bombay; but through a second year's partial failure of the rains, its influence spread northwards to the Gangetic Valley and the surrounding districts. In 1896-97 the most afflicted tract comprised the south and west of the Gangetic Valley, Central India, and the whole of the Central Provinces, while the dry "Deccan" area east of Bombay and north of Madras also suffered severely; and it was considered remarkable in that the Central Provinces south of the Nerbudda, which had till then never known a serious failure of the rains, now had its first experience of the scourge. Another part of India which had hitherto been considered immune—the north-west districts of Bombay, including Guzarat, Baroda, and Kutch—now was to take its turn of suffering in 1899-1900; and the whole of the Central Provinces, with almost all the Native States of Rajputana and Central India, and as far south as Hyderabad, shared in the ordeal. One special feature of this famine was, therefore, that it fell on a part of Bombay which had never known famine before, had made no provision against it, and had no experience of the manner of dealing with it. The second special feature was

that it fell also on other tracts, such as the Central Provinces, the western part of Bombay, Berar, the South-East Punjab, and Ajmir, which had already been hard hit two years before, and had not had time to recover from the infliction.

It was seen at once that the lesson of 1896-97 had not been lost upon the inhabitants of these last-named tracts. Relief had been administered so generously that it had lost its terrors for them. Restrictions formerly imposed to sift out those who were not really in want had been relaxed; the test of willingness to go some distance in search of work had been removed. Gratuitous relief had been brought to the homes of those who were unable to work, and reluctance to accept cooked food in the "kitchens" had ceased. The consequence was that the moment the early cessation of the rain had convinced the people that their crops were lost beyond all hope, they turned with one accord to the Government for protection. This, however, only applies to those who had practical experience of the measures taken in 1896-97. The Bhils and other hill people of South Rajputana and the adjoining districts of Bombay still held aloof, as the Kols and Gonds of the Central Provinces had done on the previous occasion. But those Kols and Gonds who had caused the greatest difficulty two years before now flocked to the works and clamoured for relief. In all previous cases the people awoke slowly to the sense of impending scarcity, and it was not till the scanty remains of the autumn crops were gathered in and the impossibility of sowing any considerable area with winter crops had forced itself on their minds, that they realized the fate in store for them. In 1896 there were 53,000 applicants for relief at the end of October, 250,000 at the end of November, and 500,000 at the end of December. But in 1899 the figures already amounted to 300,000 by the middle of October; they were 700,000 by the end of that month; over 1,000,000 at the end of November; and 2,500,000 before the year was out. This early and rapid rise in the number of the crowds who



applied for relief was one of the remarkable characteristics of the famine administration of 1899-1900.

Another peculiarity was the steadiness with which the numbers mounted. The table given on page 5 shows the approximate figures for the middle and end of each month for the two famines which I am comparing. It will be seen that in 1897 there was a gradual rise up to the end of February; then the numbers fell off in March and on to the middle of April, while the spring crops were being reaped, after which they rose again. But in 1900 there was no such break in the steady rise of the gradient. Whether this was because the spring crops had failed more utterly in 1900 than in 1897, or that the recipients of relief were drawn principally from hill-tracts where spring crops are very little grown, or that they had become so helpless or so much attached to the system of pay for very little work and doles for no work that they were unwilling to leave it, the forthcoming Commission's report will probably show.

		1897.		1900.
Middle of January	...	1,300,000	...	3,200,000
End of January	...	2,000,000	...	3,500,000
Middle of February	...	2,500,000	...	3,750,000
End of February	...	3,200,000	...	4,250,000
Middle of March	...	3,060,000	...	4,850,000
End of March...	...	2,800,000	...	4,900,000
Middle of April	...	2,950,000	...	5,200,000
End of April	...	3,300,000	...	5,500,000
Middle of May	...	3,600,000	...	5,600,000
End of May	...	4,000,000	...	5,800,000
Middle of June	...	4,250,000	...	5,900,000
End of June	...	3,300,000	...	6,000,000
Middle of July	...	3,600,000	...	6,350,000
End of July	...	3,150,000	...	6,300,000
Middle of August	...	2,700,000	...	5,650,000
End of August	...	2,450,000	...	4,900,000
Middle of September	...	2,050,000	...	3,900,000
End of September	...	1,400,000	...	3,150,000
Middle of October	...	900,000	...	2,300,000
End of October	...	—	...	1,400,000
Middle of November	...	—	...	800,000
End of November	...	—	...	425,000
Middle of December	...	—	...	250,000
End of December	...	—	...	200,000

Again, a study of this table brings out two other differences. In 1897 the maximum number was reached in the middle of June; directly the rain broke, the people began to disperse to their fields, and by the time the rain-crops were ready in October, they had all left, and the works and doles were closed. But in 1900 the maximum was not reached till the middle or end of July; then the exodus set in, but the numbers still remained large till the end of October. This, too, will probably be commented on and explained in the report we are expecting. The prolongation of distress in November and December, and even to the present time, we know to be due to another partial failure of rain in the Bombay Deccan—that is, in the districts of Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, and Poona—where even at the end of January, 1901, there were 150,000 persons on relief.

So much for the chronology of the rise and decline of the numbers on relief. I come next to the volume and geographical distribution of those numbers, and the indications they give as to the intensity of the distress; for it must be remembered that we have no other real test of the pressure of a famine except that which is afforded by the number of those who apply for relief, and the proportion they bear to the rest of the population. The only other test which can be applied is that of calculating what the normal crop out-turn of the tract affected may be, and how much it has been reduced by the drought; but both these calculations involve estimates which are of extreme delicacy and difficulty, and they cannot be more than approximations. On the other hand, if we measure the area and intensity of a famine by the number relieved, we imply that the measures for relief have been equally adequate, and the people equally ready to avail themselves of them in all cases. This, of course, is not the fact. There has been a steady growth—at least, ever since 1866—in the adequacy of the administrative steps taken to save life, and, though in a less degree, in the reliance placed by the people in the help offered by Government. If we suppose two famines of equal severity

to occur over the same area, we should certainly see a larger number of persons applying for Government relief on the second than on the first occasion, so that the second would seem more severe than the first if judged by this standard. But while allowing due weight to these deductions, I am compelled to use the statistics of the numbers relieved as supplying the only standard available at present.

In my former paper (*Asiatic Quarterly*, July, 1899) I compiled a table showing the area and population of each British province affected by the famine of 1896-97, together with the average daily number relieved and the ratio borne by that number to the total population; and I divided the area into three classes, treating the famine as intense where the ratio exceeded 10 per cent. of the entire population, severe where it ranged between 5 and 10 per cent, and slight where it was below 5 but above 1 per cent. I have drawn up a similar table to illustrate the statistics of relief on the present occasion, and the two tables are printed on opposite pages at the end of this article for purposes of comparison. I have again excluded all British districts where the number on relief was less than 1 per cent., though I have not treated the smaller Native States in the same way, because we have not such accurate knowledge as to their area or population as we have of our own territory. By this exclusion the province of Madras and the North-West Provinces are left out, and that of Bengal, except the one district of Ranchi; and the total affected population, which the returns published in the *Gazette of India* placed at 97,000,000, comes down to 81,000,000. The Government of India was quite justified in including in the famine returns all statistics of persons relieved, even when they are as few as 300 or 400 in districts like Agra and Muttra; and the form of the return required that if the number relieved in any district was given, the total population of that district should be given also. But to speak of the whole of those districts as "affected" because of those few hundreds of starving people who had to be fed would be incorrect. The total of 97,000,000 was made up by including in four districts of

Madras with a population of 4,500,000, out of whom only 10,000, or 2 per cent. of the inhabitants, required relief; three districts of the North-West Provinces where only 2,500 persons, or 1 per cent. of the population, were fed by the State, and so on. For the purpose of dealing with famine as a scourge requiring all the energy of Government officers to avert its worst effects, it is certainly better to omit such petty figures as these.

But after all these deductions have been made, the return is appallingly large, especially when the Native States are counted in, for it was on them that the brunt of the calamity mainly fell. Looking at British territory alone, the comparison with 1896-97 is favourable, for that famine attacked our provinces almost exclusively—so much so that in my table the Native States are not shown as having suffered to any considerable extent. On that occasion the area and population affected were 267,000 square miles and 70,000,000 of people. Now, we find in British territory 223,000 square miles and 34,000,000 of people affected, for the famine did not visit the teeming myriads of the Gangetic Valley, but covered the more hilly and thinly-populated area between the Vendhyān Range and the Deccan. The Native States, however, contribute 418,000 square miles and 47,000,000 of souls, so that we arrive at the huge total of 642,000 square miles and 81,000,000 people, or over 40 per cent. of the area, and nearly 30 per cent. of the population of the whole of India. This is more than double the area that had ever before been visited by famine at one time, and the population affected was larger by 11,000,000 than that of 1896-97; larger by 23,000,000 than that of 1876-78.

Out of this great population we find that 5 per cent., or 4,040,000 persons were in receipt of daily relief during an average period of twelve months. In 1896-97 the corresponding figures were 2,290,000 persons, or 3·5 per cent. The number relieved was, therefore, not only larger in volume than ever before, but it also was larger relatively to the population from which it was drawn. This ratio was surprisingly high in some cases. In the eighteen

districts of the Central Provinces, inhabited by nearly 11,000,000 people, 13 per cent. of the number were in receipt of daily relief during twelve months. In the seven districts of Berar the figure was 10 per cent. In the fifteen districts of Bombay it was 7·7 per cent. In the district of Ajmir, with its population of 500,000, 21 per cent. of the inhabitants were continuously on relief for nine months. Altogether, in the whole of the affected British territory the population stood at 8·5 per cent., or two and a half times as high as in 1896-97. In the Native States, where the administrative staff is naturally weaker and the standard of efficiency lower, the same extensive liberality of relief was not attained, and thus the average rate for the whole affected population was brought down to 5 per cent.

Turning now to the division of the famine area into three classes—intense, severe, and slight—we find some remarkable results. The “intense” area comprises twenty-six British districts, with a population of 16,250,000, of whom no less than 3,142,000 persons, or 19 per cent., were on relief for an average period of nine months. In 1896-97 this area contained only sixteen districts, with 11,250,000 inhabitants, 17 per cent. of whom were on relief. This indicates a considerably higher degree of intense famine on the present occasion. Judged by the same test, there were two Native States which fell into this class—Mewar, in Rajputana, and Palanpur, among the Bombay Native States. In these the proportion of persons receiving relief was 11·5 and 13 per cent. of the whole population respectively. Two other of the Bombay Native States—Kathiawar and Kutch—belonged to the “severe” class, and in these 7 per cent. obtained relief from their Governments. No record exists of such liberal provision having ever been made before in any Native States; but how far this was due to the greater severity of the famines, and how far to a more efficient and humane administration on the part of the State officials, we must look to the Commission’s report to tell us. There is little doubt, however, that the latter cause was largely at work. In British

territory the "severe" area included seventeen districts, with 6,000,000 people. The corresponding figure in 1896-97 was 17,250,000, and in both cases the proportion of persons relieved to total population was 7 per cent. Thus in 1899-1900, of the total number of persons in the afflicted area in British provinces, half suffered intensely and one-sixth severely; in 1896-97 one-sixth only suffered intensely and one-fourth severely. These figures, therefore, as far as they go, support the belief that the distress on the latter occasion was much more acute than on the former. In two provinces the ratio ran to a very high figure, for in the Central Provinces, out of 7,000,000, 21 per cent., and in Bombay, out of 6,000,000, 18 per cent., were in receipt of daily relief during the worst months. But when we turn to individual districts, the details of which are given in the second table at the end of this article, we find still more appalling figures. In Betul (in the Central Provinces) 42 per cent. of the people, in the vast district of Raipur 43 per cent., in Nimar 34 per cent., in Balaghat 33 per cent., and in Chanda 31 per cent., were on relief for ten or eleven months in each case. In Bombay, again, the ratio in Broach was 26 per cent., in the Panch Mahals 23 per cent., and in Ahmadnagar 24 per cent. of the whole population. Such wholesale dependence on Government for food over large areas has never been witnessed before, and it is natural that the question should be asked whether relief on so gigantic a scale was really necessary, or whether the people have been demoralised and pauperised by the liberal offer of wages and food without test or restriction, and have flocked to the relief-works and the poor-houses merely because their self-respect had been undermined, and they thought it as well to share in the general scramble. Such a question is too serious for anyone to attempt an answer on the present imperfect information, but it is to be hoped that the Commission's report will throw much light on the subject.

Some light, however, may be obtained from the consideration of one detail in the statistics of which we have



possession. The figures published in the *Gazette* of India from week to week show not only the total numbers on relief, with which I have dealt in my previous remarks, but they also divide them into two classes—those employed on works, and those in receipt of gratuitous relief. These figures are very important. In previous famines the numbers on works have far exceeded those gratuitously relieved. On the earlier occasions, when Government stepped in to save the distressed people from starvation, almost the only measure adopted was to offer them wages for work done; and the test of willingness to work, generally under much discomfort, and at a distance from their homes, was held to be the chief safeguard to ensure that the recipients of help were really in want. Gradually this rule has been relaxed, and the duty of the State towards those who from age, infirmity, or caste-habits are unable to toil with spade and basket has been more fully recognised. In the famine of 1876-78, 33 per cent. of those who received relief received it gratuitously. In the famine of 1896-97, the proportion rose to 42 per cent. The Commission which sat to report on this famine, and to define the lessons to be learnt from it, enlarged the list of the classes to whom this form of relief should be given, and laid down the rule that it should be liberally resorted to in the case of the hill tribes, and in the rainy season, when work out of doors in improvised camps is carried on with difficulty, and under insanitary conditions. This being so, it is rather surprising to find that the total amount of gratuitous relief was less than on the preceding occasion, the proportion borne by it to the whole being 31 per cent. instead of 42 per cent. It varied, of course, in different provinces. In Bombay, which has always cherished the ideal of relief by works rather than by doles more strongly than any other province, the ratio was only 21 per cent. In Berar it was 25 per cent. In the Central Provinces, where the system had to some extent broken down on the previous occasion by reason of the difficulty of getting the

hill tribes to come to the works, the proportion this time rose to 50 per cent. In this respect it may be assumed that the procedure of 1900 was influenced by the experience of 1897, and by the report of the Commission which followed. The same may be said of the advice given to rely more largely on gratuitous relief in the rainy season, when it is almost impossible for earth-work to be carried on successfully. From December to May the number of persons gratuitously relieved varied from 15 to 18 per cent. of the total figure. In June it rose to 25, in July to 38, in August to 52, in September to 66 per cent. During these months the climatic conditions fully explain the large numbers relieved in this way. That the number did not fall at once in October and November, when the rain had ceased, was probably due to the fact that the able-bodied left to resume agricultural work, leaving the sickly and disabled on the hands of the Government. Thus, the ratio in October was highest of all—73—in November 70, and not till December, 1900, did it fall to 50.

These figures apply to the whole of India, British and native territory alike. In British territory alone, the percentage of gratuitous to total relief was 34, and in the native States it was much lower—20 per cent.

While in some individual districts tremendously high figures were reached, in others the tendency to relieve distress by doles was stoutly resisted. In Bombay, in the district of Ahmedabad, half the sufferers, or 11 per cent. of the whole population, were in receipt of gratuitous relief in the worst month, September; and in Broach, 21 per cent. of the population, or two-thirds of those on relief. In Ahmadnagar, on the other hand, with its dry soil and scanty rainfall, the gospel of works was faithfully followed. The number on gratuitous relief never reached 4 per cent. of the population, though the number on works ran up as high as to 27 per cent. in June. In the Central Provinces in the worst month, which was August, the Raipur district saw 39 per cent. of its one and a half millions of population in receipt of doles; Nimar 32 per cent., and Betul 31. In

the whole province, with its 11,000,000 souls, 17 per cent. of the population in August, 1900, were supported by doles gratuitously distributed, and only 3 per cent. by wages received for work.

These differences in the returns from different provinces seem *primâ facie* to be fairly explicable by the different conditions as to climate and soil in the rainy season, and by the character of the people as consisting more or less largely of hill tribes. Further explanations will no doubt be afforded by the report which is under preparation. The point which I find most difficult to understand is that, contrary to anticipation, and contrary to the terms of the reports which have appeared from time to time in the public press, it appears that (except in the Central Provinces) less resort (proportionately) was had to gratuitous relief than in the previous famine. It is possible, however, that we may find that the policy was adopted of inducing the able-bodied people to take their dependents with them to the relief-works, and that these dependents have been classed as relieved on works, instead of as supported gratuitously. This was done to some extent in 1896-97, though hardly at all in 1876-78, and, so far as the return was made up in this way, it tends to confuse the important distinction between those who receive wages for work done and those to whom doles are distributed without any return being made.

I have now treated as exhaustively as I am able the published figures relating to the area and intensity of the famine, its duration, and the extent to which relief was given by the British Government and Native States, whether gratuitously or as wages for work. Of the degree in which these measures were successful in saving life it is at present premature to speak. We know that in some parts the mortuary returns indicated a very high rate, but we have not yet had them carefully sifted, or any attempt made to examine how far the deaths among immigrants affected the ratio borne by the mortality to the normal population of a district. The Viceroy, in his speech in Council (October 19, 1900), referred to the excessively

high figures in the Bombay districts of Broach, Panch Mahals, Kaira, and Ahmedabad in the month of May, which varied from twenty-one to twenty-five per mille, and in the Panch Mahals rose to the appalling rate of fifty-four per mille, a rate which, if continued for less than two years, would have swept off the whole of the population of the district. A tremendous epidemic of cholera combined with privation and exposure to produce this terrible mortality among the crowds who had drifted in from the Native States, and we have received as yet no information as to how large a part of the mortality is attributable to these two classes of causes. In the Central Provinces, on the contrary, where there was great loss of life in 1897, the death-rate continued very low till the rains set in, when it rose to seven or eight per mille, or in one district to fifteen. But it is impossible as yet to frame any calculation as to the approximate number of lives which were lost in consequence of the famine in 1900, or of the decrease in the birth-rate which is sure to have followed it. The preliminary returns of the census which are now appearing in the press show that there has been a great decrease in some of the most afflicted areas. In the Central Provinces, for instance, we learn that the population has fallen by 8 per cent., or over a million since 1891. In Berar there has been a fall of 5 per cent., in Bombay 4 per cent. In the Native States the decrease is greater, and amounts to 19 per cent. in Baroda, 18 per cent in Rajputania, and 17 per cent. in Central India.

The last statistical head to be dealt with is the cost incurred in the measures of relief. On this subject we have not as yet received complete information. The total amount expended on direct measures of relief is, according to the last published figures, £6,164,000, or about  $9\frac{1}{4}$  crores of rupees, in the British territory. In 1896-97 it was  $7\frac{1}{4}$  crores. The cost per head in those years was  $32\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per head for each of the 2,290,000 persons relieved throughout the year. Now it is almost precisely the same figure for the 2,907,000 who were on relief throughout the period

from December, 1899, to December, 1900. If we assume the same rate for the 1,133,000 persons continuously relieved in the Native States, the amount expended there will have been  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores. The loss of revenue in British territories is calculated at about £2,750,000, or over 4 crores. We have no information as to what it has been in the Native States, but their assessment being heavier, their administrative arrangements less complete, and the area afflicted larger, though less cultivated, the loss has probably been quite as large. In 1896-97 the remissions and suspensions of land revenue in British districts were nearly  $8\frac{1}{2}$  crores, but how much of this was eventually collected I have not ascertained. In that famine loans and advances amounted to  $1\frac{1}{3}$  crores, and on this occasion to not quite 2 crores. Most of this expenditure will probably be recovered. The increased charges due to the special demands of famine administration are calculated at about 1 crore. Lastly, the sum contributed by public charity, which had reached the magnificent total of nearly  $1\frac{3}{4}$  crores of rupees in 1896-97, though it fell a little short in 1900, attained the considerable figure of nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores. Of this amount the United Kingdom subscribed two-thirds of its previous benefaction, or eighty-eight lakhs of rupees, a diminution due to the overpowering interest felt in the South African War; but the colonies and the United States increased their liberality. To sum up, the expenditure incurred in fighting the famine is shown in the following table:

	Crores of Rupees.
Expended on direct relief in British territories ...	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
"                    "            Native States (estimated) ...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Loss on land revenue in British territories ...	4
"                    "            Native States (estimated) ...	4
Loans and advances in British territories ...	2
Special charges of administration in British territories ...	1
Public charity ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total ...	25 $\frac{1}{4}$

or about £17,000,000 sterling. These figures will, however, no doubt be somewhat modified when the Famine Commission's Report is received.

TABLE SHOWING AREA AND POPULATION AFFECTED BY FAMINE IN THE YEAR 1896-97.

	INTERMEDIATE.						SEVERE.						SLIGHT.						TOTAL.			
	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 5 to Col. 4.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 10 to Col. 9.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 15 to Col. 14.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 20 to Col. 19.		
North-West Provinces ...	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
Bengal ...	6	15,591	4,961	976	20	5	10,305	4,183	266	6	14	26,163	15,685	292	19	24	52,059	24,829	1,534	62		
Punjab ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6,866	4,661	360	7	7	23,962	11,853	335	19	9	30,828	16,514	695	41		
Cent. Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	1	5,217	776	66	9	3	6,508	2,035	59	29	4	11,725	2,811	125	44		
Berar...	5	15,883	2,354	297	13	4	29,128	3,679	279	8	5	19,452	2,602	94	35	14	64,463	8,635	670	77		
Bombay ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	8,232	1,289	22	17	3	8,232	1,289	22	17		
Madras ...	2	10,169	1,547	243	16	1	6,645	889	87	9	5	31,365	5,586	138	25	8	48,179	8,022	468	58		
	3	18,015	2,427	413	17	2	17,100	3,169	193	6	1	17,242	1,943	40	21	6	52,357	7,539	646	85		
Total for 1896-97	16	59,658	11,289	1,929	17	14	75,261	17,357	1,251	7	38	132,924	40,993	980	24	68	267,843	69,639	4,160	6		
Total for Famine of 1876-78 ...	...	105,000	19,000	...	...	...	102,000	29,000	...	...	...	59,000	10,000	...	...	...	257,000	58,000	...	...		

N.B.—In columns 4, 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, and 20, thousands are omitted.



TABLE SHOWING AREA AND POPULATION AFFECTED BY FAMINE IN THE YEAR 1900.

PROVINCES OR NATIVE STATES.	INTENSE, OR OVER 10 PER CENT.										SLIGHT, BELOW 5 PER CENT.										TOTAL.					
	SEVERE, FROM 5 TO 10 PER CENT.					SLIGHT, BELOW 5 PER CENT.					SEVERE, FROM 5 TO 10 PER CENT.					SLIGHT, BELOW 5 PER CENT.					TOTAL.					
	No. of Districts or States.	Area.	Population.	Average Daily No. on Relief in Worst Months.	No. of Months.	Ratio of Col. 5 to Col. 4.	No. of Districts or States.	Area.	Population.	Average Daily No. on Relief in Worst Months.	No. of Months.	Ratio of Col. 11 to Col. 10.	Area.	Population.	Average Daily No. on Relief in Worst Months.	No. of Months.	Ratio of Col. 17 to Col. 16.	No. of Districts or States.	Area.	Population.	Gratu. tons.	Works.	Average Daily No. on Relief in Worst Months.	Total.	No. of Months.	Ratio of Col. 23 to Col. 22.
BRIT. POSSESSIONS :																										
Bombay ..	8	36,668	6,360	1,136	8	18	1	5,369	1,068	80	8	7.5	6	33,638	4,888	66	11	1.4	15	75,665	12,316	200	744	944	13	7.7
Central Provinces	11	61,810	6,825	1,451	9	21	6	22,775	3,591	294	7	8	1	1,916	367	4	11	1.1	18	86,501	10,783	692	703	1,395	12	13
Benar ..	5	11,048	1,770	330	7	19	1	2,759	656	55	5	8	1	3,911	472	9	11	2	7	17,718	2,868	71	219	290	12	10
Ajmir ..	1	2,711	512	116	9	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2,711	512	45	71	116	9	21
Punjab ..	1	5,163	776	109	8	14	1	1,797	590	34	6	6	8	26,981	5,372	37	7	0.7	30	33,941	6,738	26	125	151	71	2.2
Bengal ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7,140	1,128	11	5	1	1	7,140	1,128	4	7	11	5	1
Total British..	26	117,400	16,273	3,142	8	19	9	32,700	5,995	463	6	8	17	73,586	12,227	127	9	1	52	223,676	34,495	1,038	1,869	2,907	12	8.5
NATIVE STATES :																										
Rajputana ..	1	12,861	995	105	5	11.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	117,407	10,146	236	12	2.3	21	130,268	11,051	79	218	297	12	2.7
Central India ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	77,868	10,042	111	12	1.1	43	77,868	10,042	24	87	111	12	1.1
Bombay ..	1	7,775	646	84	9	13	2	27,059	3,310	334	7	10	19	34,211	3,288	52	13	1.6	22	69,045	7,543	36	285	321	13	4.4
Baroda ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8,226	2,415	64	13	2.5	1	8,226	2,415	20	44	64	13	2.5
Hyderabad ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	82,698	11,537	256	11	2.2	1	82,698	11,537	45	211	256	11	2.2
Punjab ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	25,957	2,866	23	10	0.8	7	25,957	2,866	8	15	23	10	2.8
Cent. Provinces' Feudatories	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	24,802	1,795	61	10	3.4	12	24,802	1,795	20	41	61	10	3.4
Total Native States ..	2	20,636	1,551	189	7	12	2	27,059	3,310	334	7	10	102	371,109	42,089	803	12	1.9	107	418,804	46,949	232	907	1,133	12	2.4
Grand Total ..	28	138,036	17,824	3,331	8	19	11	59,759	9,215	797	7	9	119	444,685	54,316	930	1	1.7	139	642,480	81,354	1,270	2,770	4,040	12	5

N.B.—Thousands omitted in columns 4, 5, 10, 11, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, and 25.

I have thus attempted to deal with the historical and geographical problems arising out of the statistics hitherto published concerning the recent famine, certainly the most far-reaching and intense calamity of its class which has befallen India during the last century. I hope in due time to be able to lay before the readers of this Review the conclusions to be drawn regarding the success of the measures with which the Government strove to meet it, and the lessons to be learnt as to the administration of similar measures when a similar calamity recurs.

TABLE SHOWING IN DETAIL THE DISTRICTS AND STATES AFFECTED BY THE FAMINE.

DISTRICT.	INTENSE.						SEVERE.						SLIGHT.						TOTAL.		
	Area.	Population.	No. of Months during which the No. on Relief exceeded 10 per Cent. of the Population.	Average Daily No. on Relief during those Months.	Ratio of No. in Col. 5 to Col. 3.	Highest Ratio on Relief in any Month.	Area.	Population.	No. of Months during which the No. on Relief exceeded 5 per Cent. of the Population.	Average Daily No. on Relief during those Months.	Ratio of No. in Col. 10 to Col. 9.	Area.	Population.	No. of Months Relief lasted.	Average Daily No. on Relief.	Ratio of No. in Col. 16 to Col. 14.	Area.	Population.	Average Daily No. on Relief during Whole Period.	Ratio of No. in Col. 20 to Col. 19.	No. of Months Relief lasted.
Bombay:																					
Ahmedabad	3,949	921	8	149	16	22															
Kaira	1,609	872	6	141	16	36															
Panch Mahals	1,613	313	7	73	26	34															
Broach	1,463	341	11	88	26	34															
Surat																					
Ahmednagar	6,645	883	9	217	24.5	37															
Khandesh	10,097	1,435	9	218	15	18.5															
Nasik	5,940	844	7	91	10.8	12															
Poona							5,369	1,068	8	80	7.5										
Satara																					
Sholapur	4,542	751	9	159	21	22.2															
Belgaum																					
Bijapur																					
Thana																					
Thar and Parkar																					
Total	36,668	6,360	8	1,136	18		5,369	1,068	8	80	7.5	33,638	4,888	11	66	1.4	75,665	12,316	944	7.7	13
Punjab:																					
Hissar																					
Rohtak																					
Gurgaon																					
Delhi																					
Karnal																					
Shahpur																					
Islamabad																					
Ferozepur																					
Multan																					
Gujarat																					
Total	5,163	776	8	109	14		1,797	590	6	34	6	26,981	5,372	7	36.6	0.7	33,941	6,738	151	2.2	71
Central Provinces:																					
Saugor																					
Dhule																					
Indore																					
Madhya Pradesh																					
Seoni																					
Narsinghpur																					
Chhindwara																					
Wardha																					
Nagpur																					
Chandrapur																					
Bhandara																					
Balaghat																					
Raipur																					
Bilaspur																					
Sambalpur																					
Total	61,810	6,825	9	1,451	21		22,775	3,391	7	294	8	1,916	367	11	4	1.1	86,501	10,783	1,395	12.7	12
Berar:																					
Akola																					
Basim																					
Boldana																					
Amraoti																					
Wun																					
Ellahpur																					
Total	11,048	1,770	7	330	19		2,759	656	5	55	8	3,911	472	11	9	2	17,718	2,597	290	10	12
Almir																					
Bengal																					
Total	2,711	542	9	116	21	25															
Total British Provinces	117,400	16,273	8	3,142	19		32,700	5,995	6			73,586	12,227	9	127	1	223,676	34,405	2,997	8.5	12
Native States																					
Rajputana States																					
Mewar																					
Others																					
Total	12,861	905	5	105	11.5	12						118,407	10,146	12	236	2.3	130,268	11,051	297	2.7	12
Total India Native States																					
Total																					
Bombay Native States:																					
Kathiawar																					
Palampur																					
Cutch																					
Others																					
Total	7,775	646	9	84	13	19.7	20,559	2,752	8	295	10										
Baroda																					
Hyderabad																					
Punjab Native States																					
Central Prov. Feudatories																					
Total																					
Total Native States	90,636	1,551	7	189	12		27,059	3,310	7	334	10	372,109	42,089	12	803	1.9	418,804	46,949	1,133	2.4	12

N.B.—Thousands are omitted in columns 3, 4, 9, 10, 14, 19, 20.

[To face p. 242.]



## THE INDIAN SECRETARIATS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.\*

BY F. LORAINÉ PETRE.

- SOME apology might seem to be required for the subject of this paper but for the fact that it is one which the present Viceroy, Lord Curzon, has thought it necessary to take up with his usual vigour and energy, and that he clearly considers that the existing secretariat organization and mode of work is overburdening the officers of Government, and strangling the proper development of their abilities.

It is probable that the necessity for reform in the Indian secretariats had occurred to him before he became officially responsible for it. The vast amount of—often unnecessary—writing in India cannot fail to strike a visitor from a country where the press and hurry of modern European life leaves no time for wielding the pen more than is absolutely necessary. When it is remembered that the scribes who are responsible for the production of this great volume of writing are recruited mainly from the men who, at other times, are entrusted with the practical government of the country, it is very natural to infer that their secretariat training, on its present lines, must act injuriously on them. That Lord Curzon thinks this is so, and that he has found by experience that it is, may be assumed from a consideration of the endeavours which he is making to alter the constitution and working of the secretariats of the Government of India, and the reforms which he will, no doubt, press on the Provincial Governments, in so far as he can do so without unduly interfering with the liberty of action which it is so necessary for them to have.

The servant of Government, be he a member of the Civil Service, an engineer, or a police officer, who spends

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association, elsewhere in this Review, for discussion on this paper.

many successive years of his life in an office chair, dealing with matters of administration from a distance and on paper, is almost sure to find himself very much at sea when he suddenly returns to dealing with them on the spot and in practice. He will have lost his touch of the people and of the country, whilst acquiring the idea that the orders which he has been accustomed to draft from the central office are the best possible, and that there can be no difficulties in carrying them out. When he is confronted with the practical obstacles which so often do arise, he is only too apt to disregard them, and to endeavour to enforce orders in spite of them. He is probably much shocked when he finds that some of his more practical predecessors have quietly allowed many of these orders to be a dead-letter, knowing it to be impossible to enforce them without doing much more harm than good. If he is wise he follows their example, and, if he does not ignore the objectionable orders entirely, he, at any rate, smooths off their sharp corners by a liberal interpretation and adaptation of them to circumstances. Too often, however, as matters now are, the secretariat-bred official is far too deeply impressed with the importance and supposed infallibility of the Government offices to yield to the judgment of practical administrators until it is too late. He only awakes to his error when he finds that he has got his charge into a tangle from which he is unable to rescue it. Then he has to yield his place to one of the men whose opinions he has been accustomed to disregard.

He has, perhaps, been caught up into the secretariat after his first three years of residence in the country, at a time when he has but recently attained a fair colloquial knowledge of its vernacular, and a very superficial acquaintance with the customs and mode of thought of an entirely strange people. When he reaches headquarters he ceases to use the vernacular, except to a very limited extent, and he no longer comes in contact with the true representative types of the general populace. The clerks and servants,



with whom alone he probably deals, are an artificially trained class, very different from the rustics, the townspeople, and the officials of the districts. After four or five years he is often incapable of speaking intelligently to an educated native official; still more so of even understanding the patois of a villager. He knows nothing of their ideas, and he fails even to realize how narrow is their horizon, and that, to the villager, he himself, if he is a district officer, represents the supreme authority. Viceroys, Lieutenant-Governors, even much smaller officials, represent nothing to the Indian rustic. For him the district officer, perhaps even the tahsildar, or the sub-inspector of police, is the embodiment of all authority.

Probably no one with any considerable experience of India will deny that the evils above suggested are real. The secretariats, as at present organized and worked, are rapidly tending to paralyze many of the best of the younger officials, to turn them into unpractical theorists, and then to cast them loose to govern a country and a people of which they really know little more than when they first landed in India. The secretariat, extending that term to many analogous posts, and not limiting it to the offices of the secretaries to the supreme and local governments, occupies a position, in relation to the general administrative body, very similar to that of the staff of an army in respect of the regimental officers. The actual administration of the country is carried on by the district officers, by the local engineers, and police officers, and by others in a nominally subordinate position. They do the real practical work of governing. The secretariats only deal with systematizing and organizing their methods. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that this *should* be the sphere of the secretariats; for, notwithstanding many brave words in praise of decentralization, it is impossible to ignore the constant tendency at headquarters towards centralization and the withdrawal from the administrative staff of that independence, within reasonable limits, which it is just to

them, and advisable in the interests of the country, that they should enjoy. In theory, decentralization is the aim of all Indian Governments ; their practice rarely follows their professions. Very often orders which pretend to aim at decentralizing are, on examination, found to have just the opposite result, or, at most, to merely transfer the real power from one centre to another, not to delegate it to a local authority.

It is hardly an exaggeration to assert that many matters of detail now require reference to Government which, twenty-five years ago, were finally disposed of by the district or the divisional officer. In this respect, much depends on the training of the Governor of a province. One who has spent the greater part of his service in controlling offices, and who has forgotten, if he ever knew, the practical work of the country, has usually become so imbued with the secretary's love of centralization that he feels it difficult to avoid distrust of his subordinates. He cannot resist the wish to gather into his own hands every thread of the administration.

It is not for a moment contended that a reasonable amount of training in the secretariat is undesirable as a qualification for the future tenure of high posts. On the contrary, it is most necessary ; and the contention in this paper is that opportunities of undergoing it should be extended to a greater number than at present. What is objectionable is the existing system, under which officers are kept year after year at this class of work without having any opportunity, in the meanwhile, of regaining touch with the people and the country. They are not infrequently sent straight to the government of a province when they have completely forgotten whatever of practical details they may have had time to learn in the earlier years of their service. There is a rule in the army, more honoured in the breach than in the observance, which requires every officer vacating a staff appointment to return for a period to regimental work before he again becomes a staff officer.

The rule might, with great advantage, be applied to secretariat employment. In the first place, officers should not be carried off at too early a stage of their service to headquarters. There are often under-secretaries of three or four years' service in the regular line. They have just had time to pass their departmental examinations and to acquire a very superficial knowledge of district work. They, certainly, have not learnt enough to enable them to express an opinion of any real value on it. In another three or four years they would have had time to thoroughly grasp the situation, and their opinion would be worth having. That is the time at which it seems right they should begin their secretariat work. But, even then, after a few years (say three or, at the most, four) their practical knowledge begins to rust and to require renewal. They should then be sent back for at least two years to refresh their knowledge and bring it up to date in a district. To the first of these proposals it will, no doubt, be objected that at six or seven years' service an officer will draw better pay in the ordinary line than in the secretariat, and he is, therefore, unwilling to join the latter. This is often true; but the difficulty could easily be got over by grading the secretariat appointments with those of the regular line, so that the under-secretary would carry with him the pay of his standing in the service. Employment at headquarters has many attractions which are often held to outweigh even some loss of pay. It generally carries with it residence during the hot months in a hill station. The married man is saved from separation from wife and family, and from the expense of a double establishment. The secretary has but one master, a blessing which is easily understood, but never experienced, by the district officer, bombarded with correspondence from a dozen different departments, each of which considers itself of supreme importance. The work of the secretary, if hard, is interesting and varied. Lastly, the officer has every opportunity of bringing directly before Government his merits as a worker. These advantages

are quite sufficient to attract most men to the secretariat, provided they do not actually lose in pocket. It is unnecessary to offer them increase of salary.

The stock objections to frequent changes of secretaries are that work loses continuity, and that it is a pity to part with a good man well up in the routine of the office. When an officer who has been for his first six or seven years at district work joins the secretariat, he naturally finds his new duties strange, and it takes him some time to acquire a grasp of them. This is largely due to his never having seen the working of a controlling office, either in England or in India. To remedy this it is suggested that young officers, before they are sent to India, should have an opportunity of watching the system of work in the English public offices, and should be required to show some proficiency in *précis* and note writing. Any intelligent person can make an abstract, letter by letter, of a file of correspondence; but it is quite a different matter to write a comprehensive and well-arranged note, embodying all that is of importance in the correspondence, marshalling all the facts in logical sequence, emphasizing those of special importance, and stating clearly the points for decision. Training in such work would be of the utmost utility to every officer of Government, even if it were his fate never to enter the magic circle of the Government offices at headquarters. It would enable him to set his local office in order, and to train the clerks, whose deficiencies are much oftener due to want of teaching than to want of natural ability. To the objection about parting with a good man when he is once found, it may fairly be replied that there are just as good men out of the secretariat as in it. When under-secretaries are selected so young as they generally are, the Government has really nothing to go upon in choosing them. They have no experience, and therefore have had no opportunity of showing what they are worth. They have to be taken on the faith of a recommendation from an immediate superior, who thinks well of their general smart-

ness and ability. Indeed, it is a not uncommon suspicion that social qualifications, unconnected with capacity for business, at times influence the selection and insure the retention of their fortunate possessor. With regard, then, to the recruitment of the secretariat, my first point is that men should not be selected for it too early in their service; the second, that they should not be allowed to serve continuously in it for more than two or three years at a time. Each period of such service, after the first, should follow on at least two years' work in the regular line.

When a man goes back to the regular line he should go with no promise of, or claim to, return to headquarters, and with no right to special consideration in the regular line. If experience shows him to be the best man available, he may with propriety be recalled after his period of exile from the secretariat. But if he goes out of the secretariat, whether because his term of service there has expired, or because he wants to go on furlough, he should clearly understand that he will not, under any circumstances, return until he has gone through the prescribed term of district work.

In this way, stagnation of the *personnel* of the secretariats could be prevented, and there would be no more cases of men serving continuously at headquarters from three or four years after their arrival in the country till they have attained such seniority that they have to be sent to direct the conduct of officers holding positions which they have themselves never occupied. I understand that Lord Curzon's reforms contemplate some such measures as these for insuring a flow of fresh blood through the secretariats. The knowledge that they have a fair and equal chance of employment at headquarters will also act as a stimulus to officers in the ordinary line. Many able and experienced men in that line have long ago abandoned all hope of this special employment. They have not had the good fortune to be selected in their earlier years, and now they feel that when there is a vacancy it is sure to be filled by the pro-

motion of an under-secretary, or of someone who has had experience of the office. What is still worse is that they feel that the doors leading to the highest posts are hopelessly closed against them, whilst they stand wide open only to those who have already for many years basked in the sunshine of a court. There is certainly a general, and perhaps not unfounded, impression that no officer has a chance of rising to the chief authority in his province unless he has had a chance of exhibiting his capacity at Simla or Calcutta. The choice is thus limited to a very few. If, as has been suggested, men were kept a shorter time at those places, and a larger number of the best officers from the provinces were passed through the offices of the supreme Government, the field of choice would be greatly widened. The retiring Governor of a province may know of a well-qualified successor to his place who has never been employed under the supreme Government; but the Viceroy and his Council can hardly be expected to nominate one of whose work they have no personal knowledge. It would certainly not be desirable that they should blindly accept the nomination of his successor by the retiring incumbent.

So far, only the temporary portion of the secretariat officials has been dealt with. There is equally room for improvement in the treatment and appointment of the permanent clerical staff. Where an office does not contain a clerk fit for promotion to a vacant post from a lower grade, a suitable man should be sought in another office rather than import an entire stranger. Men of this class have little hope of employment outside an office. It is unjust to them, and it crushes their spirit, to see outsiders brought in to fill posts for which it is probably possible to find suitable candidates in their own ranks. There should be a regular stream of promotion and interchange between the clerks of the Government of India, those of the provincial governments, and those of their divisional and district offices.

It is unnecessary here to deal further with the *personnel* of the secretariats.



Reform is still more necessary in their method of work, and has already been vigorously initiated by Lord Curzon. The excessive use of the pen in India is a matter which has been noticed and condemned on many occasions by many competent judges; but the evil grows greater and greater every year.

The clerk seeks to justify the existence of his post by writing long notes when none, or at most only a few words, are necessary. The under-secretary, instead of accepting as sufficient the clerk's note, however correct and complete it may be, thinks he is called upon to write another note, repeating often much that has already been written. Whether he understands the subject or not, he sometimes thinks he sees his way to acquiring a reputation by smart writing. With all this note writing, a small file rapidly grows in bulk. A single letter is noted on by a couple of departmental clerks, an under-secretary, and a secretary before it reaches the official whose orders on it are required. At least half this writing is useless repetition and waste of time, both of its writers and of those who have to read it.

The prevailing ideas in the minds of the note-writers are apt to be that, unless they amplify their subordinates' notes, they run the risk of being thought idle, and that much writing is the way to bring themselves to notice.

This Lord Curzon is endeavouring to correct by forbidding the submission, to the deciding authority, of more than one note. If the clerk's note is correct and sufficient, the under-secretary has merely to initial it in token of his having verified and approved it. The secretary, in turn, acts in the same way. Thus the reference comes up with a single note instead of four or five. If the under-secretary or the secretary finds the notes of his subordinate to be incorrect or incomplete, it is his business to tear them up and to write what he considers a proper note. Surely this is a more reasonable system, and will automatically impose a check on excessive writing.

The clerk, or the under-secretary, after having seen several of his notes torn up, will find out that it is useless to write long essays on subjects of which he knows little, and will lose some of that excessive self-assertion which is too common a fault among the junior members of the secretariats.

One more matter remains to be noticed—the excessive writing of reports and reviews, which occupies so much time which would be far more profitably devoted to practical matters, and to the acquisition of a better knowledge of their districts and their people by district officers and their assistants.

Reports are required on almost every conceivable subject, annually or oftener, whether there is anything new to be said about it or not. There is an enormous waste of time in saying the same thing over and over again each year, and the reports constantly cross and contain one another. There will be a report on the working of the district police, and a separate report on cattle-lifting. There is a report on the working of each district board, including its treatment of education, yet there is also a separate report on the latter subject, submitted to another authority. Of all these reports, at least two copies have to be made. The district reports of each division are generally reviewed by the Commissioner, and the whole of this vast mass of writing is submitted to Government, often with another review by an intermediate authority. Some years ago orders were passed requiring a full report, on certain subjects, only once in three years. The only result appears to be that the annual remarks on the statistics are about as long as the old annual report, whilst the triennial report is a much longer document. Surely a very large proportion of this voluminous reporting is absolute waste of time. Who writes the reports? Who reads them?

The great bulk of the writing is done by low-paid clerks working on precedents. They do their best to avoid repeating the same thing year after year, but it is very

hard to succeed whilst drawing out the report to the length which prescription has fixed as desirable. The draft so prepared is altered and added to by the district officer, sometimes more, sometimes less, and then it is ready for despatch. It would be mere hypocrisy to pretend a belief that any district officer writes even the greater part of all the reports which issue under his signature; it would be the height of folly on the part of any district officer to attempt such a task. As it is, the time he actually wastes in connection with reports seriously interferes with other far more important work, and tends to turn him into an office drudge when he ought to be moving about his district and mixing with his people.

If a Commissioner reads somewhat hurriedly through the half-dozen reports on each subject which he receives from his districts, it is all he can do, and his time might easily be better employed. It is quite beyond the power of any secretary to peruse the forty or fifty district reports; he has to content himself with reading the Commissioner's review, and making an occasional reference to the district reports.

A vast amount of ingenuity is displayed by clerks in the higher offices in discovering trifling differences in figures, and in suggesting that explanations be called for. The clerks in the lower offices suggest equally ingenious explanations of differences, which really require none and are incapable of any. Nine-tenths of the consequent correspondence is waste of time. What possible use can there be in calling for explanations of an increase or decrease of fifty or sixty in the number of pupils in the schools of a district? Of what value is the explanation when it is received? The matter cannot really be explained, but the district officer is obliged to assign some reason, which he hopes may satisfy others, though he probably himself estimates it at its true value. The stock explanation of all variations, whether in the consumption of spirits, in the absorption of learning, or in the number of crimes, is the

goodness or badness of the season. As it does duty indiscriminately for all variations in either direction, its worthlessness is evident. It is only one example of many.

It is a matter of great regret that a Government, in which there is generally so much solidity and common-sense, should lend its countenance to such waste of time on the part of its officers, who have so much that is more important to occupy their time and attention.

Lord Curzon's endeavours, both to reduce the volume of writing and to remove the present tendency to stagnation in the constitution of the secretariats, are a move in the right direction. It remains to be seen whether the reforms which he inaugurates will last. There seems only too strong reason to fear that the term of office of a single Viceroy is insufficient to insure their stability. It will probably require the insistence of at least one of his successors before the tendency to return to the present methods is entirely overcome. It will require very special insistence to insure the extension of the reforms, even for the present, beyond the offices under the immediate control of the Viceroy.

## SCOTSMEN IN INDIA.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

AN Anglo-Indian friend of mine, hearing that I was going to discourse to the Scottish Borderers in London on "Scotsmen in India," exclaimed at once that the subject involved the whole long history of British enterprise in those regions of Asia, so constant and strong have been and are the Caledonian impressions made on those distant lands. The chance remark is, I think, true if we begin at the times of William III, and the Union under Queen Anne, and will be my excuse for plunging into my story without longer preface. In what I mean to say I want to notice two things: first, the commercial and political circumstances which gave Scotsmen the openings to careers in India; and next, those traits of character and habits of conduct extremely Scottish and moulded by the old institutions of Scotland, which enabled her sons to press on to the prizes of life among the powerful, bustling crowd of English rivals who were first in the field. The great East India Company, as we all know, was peculiarly English, started in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by a number of London merchants, who met the Lord Mayor in the Founders' Room in the City. Their objective, to use a military phrase, was the ports of Sumatra, Borneo, and the Spice Islands, to compete with the burghers of Amsterdam in supplying Europe with pepper, mace, and cloves. Their ships were men of war, and officered as such, seeing that there were pirates in all the seas, and risks of capture and death at the hands of the Spaniards or the Dutch; and to make up for these risks the Queen gave the new company a monopoly of the trade in all the coasts and islands between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. This monopoly over India was maintained till 1814, while that over China and the tea trade lasted till 1834. The Company thus made enemies of all commercial

men who were excluded from its privileges. There were some relaxations when the two kingdoms were under the sceptre of James VI. and Oliver Cromwell; and in those early days I find one Cunningham, a Scotsman, paid as a surgeon in Borneo, but the English capitalists kept most of the profits of trade. This jealous policy suggested to William Patterson, one of the founders of the Bank of England, that the Scots should have a company of their own under an Act of the Scots Parliament, and it was started in London. But the people of England, mad with trade rivalry, and incited by the East India Company, roused the English Parliament, who seized the books, and voted the Scotsmen guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, as if the Scottish Estates were dependent on them. Scotland, insulted by this treatment, gathered up her robes, and decided to carry the matter through in her own land. A great subscription was raised, mostly in the Lowlands, and the ill-fated Darien Company was the result. I have no time to dilate on its liberal, systematic, and far-seeing plans; its survey and support of all the home industries; its projects of fishing near Greenland and Archangel, and of trading with the Golden Coast of Africa. Let me tell you that in the great towns of India you find a scattering of Armenians, men who have a good deal of the caution and adaptation to new surroundings of the Scots. Some of them carry on a great trade. The Scottish company wanted to start an East India business by their agency, but they declined, fearful of offending the English and the King's English Government, which quickly and very unrighteously disowned the Scottish company over the whole world. The Scots directors had, for instance, tried to get capital from the merchants of Hamburg; but the British envoy interposed, affronting the Senate of that little State with a message which our historians treat as an example of the haughty language a great free State often uses to free States that are smaller. I will not follow the story of the downfall and miserable end of the Darien Colonies. The



behaviour of William III. and his ministers rightly enraged the Scottish nation, and caused in the Lowlands the same hatred of the English as the massacre of Glencoe had created among the Highland chiefs and clans. William III., whose interest it was to keep the thrones of both kingdoms, began to get alarmed, and to wish for a union of the two, and the same policy was followed by Queen Anne. The haughty English found it wise to change the tone of their diplomacy when the Scottish Estates had passed an Act providing for a separate King of Scotland after Queen Anne should die, and another calling the whole nation under arms. Acts of retaliation were passed at Westminster, Scots resident in England were treated as Outlanders, and orders were given for putting the castles in repair at Carlisle and Berwick-upon-Tweed. The English confiscated a Scottish ship engaged in the Indian trade. The Scots committed some judicial murders of Englishmen for having killed a Scotsman on the distant shore of Malabar. At the very time that the thistle was unfolding all its prickles, that the northern nation was displaying its deadly hostility, a stupid and reckless Englishman did what mischief he could by publishing a book, based on old forgeries, to prove that Scotland was under the suzerainty of England. It is to the credit of great English statesmen like Somers and Godolphin, and the personal intervention of Queen Anne, that the two nations were saved from flying at each other's throats. The English capitalists and monopolists were forced to give way. The Parliament were impressed with some words of Lord Haversham, who spoke out for peace, and warned his powerful countrymen of the danger of going to war with the poor, small, unconquerable people, who preferred independence to life itself—ay,

“And suld think fredome mar to pryse  
Than all the gold in warld that is.”

The nobility and gentry, he said, were learned and brave, but generally discontented. “As to the common people, they are very numerous and very stout, but very poor.

And who is the man that can answer what such a multitude, so armed, so disciplined, with such leaders, may do, especially since opportunities do so much alter men from themselves?"

The union did not affect the East India Company's monopoly; but it opened up England and her colonial trade to Scotsmen, and I suppose the joke about the best road in Scotland being the one leading to England was started in those days. Scotsmen soon began to press into all the public services; and the lampoons levelled against the Earl of Bute show that when he was Prime Minister he did his very best to provide for his countrymen. We soon find them entering the Indian Company's services on land and sea. Scottish lords and Members of Parliament living in London now got their due influence over patronage, and no doubt the high average of education in Scotland, established long before the Act of 1696, made the younger sons of the discontented lairds and ministers desirable servants in the Indian factories. During the eighteenth century many Scotsmen made fortunes in India. Towards its end eight of the estates of Roxburghshire had passed into the hands of such men, as Dr. Somerville, the minister of Jedburgh, relates. The Hon. Robert Lindsay, brother of the lady who wrote "*Auld Robin Gray*," retired in 1789, after only seventeen years' service, with an ample fortune, and an estate near the home of his fathers, for which he paid £30,000. Some of these men were fine examples of integrity, when Europeans in India had many chances of corrupt gain, and of making money out of war-like quarrels with the native States. I will only instance two, whom Lord Cornwallis took care to recommend for their high virtues. One of them, a tenant farmer's son, came from Forfarshire—Mr. Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811), who had to face great unpopularity at Benares in checking the evils I have described. His humanity also led him to try to stop a practice among some native clans there of killing their female children; and he did the same among the military tribes of Kattywar when, years after, he

became Governor of Bombay, a great office he obtained without solicitation, and held for sixteen years, till his death. A splendid tomb in the Bombay Cathedral records his qualities. He vigorously helped the Marquis Wellesley in the wars against Tippoo Sultan and the Marathas. He was of great use to Wellington, then only a Major-General, in his Indian career. We hear about Duncan from Sir James Mackintosh, the well-known philosopher and statesman, son of a small laird near Inverness. He came out to Bombay as Recorder in 1804, when Duncan insisted on his living in his country house, the Governor, who was an old bachelor, being content to live in the centre of the fort, nearer to his daily work. To Mackintosh Jonathan Duncan seemed on first acquaintance rather *douce* and Oriental: "The Governor, who has been very civil to us, is an ingenious, intelligent man, not without capacity and disposition to speculate. Four-and-thirty years' residence in this country have Bramanized his mind and body. He is good-natured, inclined towards good, and indisposed to violence, but rather submissive to those who are otherwise." This was written before Mackintosh could have fully understood the man who received him to his house or the world in which he moved. We know that he did his duty well and with energy during sixteen important years at Bombay. His gentleness, his tendency to philosophic speculation, would endear him to the people; and his policy of upholding native institutions is one that has usually been followed by the greater Scotsmen in India, with the exception of Lord Dalhousie. Instead of reducing the chiefs of clans into the position of subjects, he left them a large measure of sovereign independence, which in Kattywar and Gujerat some hundreds of them still retain, this arrangement, which has worked well—especially in the hands of Scotsmen—being the very opposite of the settlement made with the Highland chieftains after the rebellion. Having served among those Indian lords of Regalia, I can testify that much, as also to the regard still paid to the memory of

Duncan as suppressor of infanticide. Mackintosh relates a talk he had with the father of my friend Sir Monier Williams on this custom of the Jarejahs. He was told : " They drown the female children immediately after birth, in milk poured into a hole in the ground. Some few have been preserved. They procure wives from other tribes of Rajpoots. They allege as an excuse the same combination of pride and poverty which make nuns of all poor gentlewomen in Catholic countries." We have the testimony of James Forbes, a Bombay civil servant of those old times in his " Oriental Memoirs " : " Thousands of happy mothers in all succeeding ages, while caressing their infant daughters, will bless the name of Duncan." The way Duncan worked was to show from their holy books that this killing of babies was contrary to the Hindu religion, and at the same time to start a fund to provide marriage portions for the poorer lairds' girls, which money I have myself helped to administer. This Governor was vigorously helped by another brilliant Scotsman, little known outside of Kattywar, where I often spent happy hours reading his old reports. I am speaking of General Alexander Walker, a son of the manse of Collessie, in Fife, capable and tried in all things, in battles and sieges, among the strange people of Travancore and those of wealthy Gujerat, as suave and cautious in making treaties as he was bold in war. I sometimes go to the India Office to study the manuscript despatches sent home from Bombay, which are written in a plain, clear hand, but often mixed with cyphers when alluding to the French or the great Indian powers. One correspondence startled me, of the years 1784 to 1787. It was a proposal of a commercial firm at Bombay to send an expedition to what was then, or soon after, Russian America, to start a trade with the Red Indians in furs, which were to be sold in Canton at the East India Company's factory. This venture was one result of the stir made by Captain Cook's voyages round the world, being based on some plan drawn up on his last voyage. David Scott, who I think must be the man who

afterwards became an M.P., and got the statesman Joseph Hume his first medical appointment in India, appears as the head of the enterprise at Bombay, from which two ships were sent, the *Captain Cook* and the *Enterprise*, well-commissioned and found, to those Arctic regions. In one of these, Walker, a young lieutenant, was sent to command the marines. They got as far as Nootka Sound, and though I have as yet found no report of the voyage, I gather that they left Bombay in the end of 1785, arrived in China on November 15, 1786, and sold off their sea-otter and other skins on April 4, 1787.

The other Civil servant whose perfect integrity led to his rise in life was Mr. Charles Grant, a Highlander, who was born a few hours after his father died at Culloden, fighting for Charles Edward Stuart. He went to India in 1767 as a soldier, but got into the Civil Service and retired in 1792 with a great fortune, to become before he died, in 1823, M.P. for Inverness-shire, and Chairman of the East India Company. He was a good and pious man, a friend of missionaries, a leader in the Clapham sect, in the anti-slavery movement, and the Bible Society. He it was who introduced Sunday-schools into Scotland. During the recent controversy, which has ended badly for the Presbyterians in India, about the use of Government churches, I wrote some articles,\* calling for kinder treatment on the ground that the English Episcopalian Establishment there, which is fast becoming the Established Church of India, was virtually created, so far as its buildings and endowments are concerned, by three Scotsmen—this Charles Grant, his son, Lord Glenelg, and a chaplain, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who began as a Presbyterian and ended with a plan of having a well-paid bishop in every large city, and a swarm of rectors and curates, all to be paid out of the Indian taxes, for the purpose of getting the Indians to see how bad their own religions were. While

\* "The Presbyterian and Wesleyan User of Government Churches in India" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1899); "The Blue Book on Government Churches in India" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1900).

Grant was skilful in managing the Company's trade, a man of business, good at accounts, like Duncan and Warren Hastings, and Robert Lindsay, he is also an instance of the highly religious Scotsman, the forerunner of the great missionaries, men like Dr. Alexander Duff, or the Rev. John Wilson, Vice-Chancellor for a time of the Bombay University, a Lauder man, a class who have wielded great influence over our educational policy, who have studied the natives and helped us to understand them, and whose spiritual teaching has done much to modify the effect of the Indian religions and philosophies on the more thoughtful minds. Governor Duncan also was probably a religious man: at any rate, he got Mackintosh to compose the funeral sermon on the Marquis Cornwallis.

I find a Captain Hamilton writing about Calcutta in 1720, who says that all religions were freely tolerated there but the Presbyterian,\* and that they browbeat. But when Parliament discussed what form of religion should be established in India in 1814, the group of Scottish members declared that the majority of the British living out there were Scottish, and used this fact as argument for planting Presbyterian institutions. In 1806 there must have been a host of Scoto-Indians at Edinburgh, since many united to give Warren Hastings a dinner at Oman's Club. John Galt, in "*The Provost*," makes one of these Nabobs, as they were called, buy up the little Scottish Parliamentary Burgh; and I have already said how eight estates in the county of Roxburgh were bought by men of the same class. But this reminds me, again, of Alexander Elliot, brother of the Lord Minto who became Governor-General. Years ago I was struck by the one verse which now alone preserves his memory, written by his friend that great Englishman, Warren Hastings, on his voyage home from the scenes of his career, in an Horatian retrospect of human life:

"An early death was Elliot's doom;  
I saw his opening virtues bloom,  
And manly sense unfold,



Too soon to fade ! I bade the stone  
Record his name 'mid hordes unknown,  
Unknowing what it told."

Alas ! this is still our experience in India. Most of us have had to do the last sad office for some fine young fellow whose epitaph was, in the language of the Bible, " His sun is gone down while it was yet noon."

"So passeth in the passing of a day  
Of mortal life the leaf, the bud, the flower."

But, speaking of Roxburghshire, I must recall Sir Walter Elliott of Wolfelee, whose career in India lasted from 1821 to 1860, after which he returned to the scenes of his youth. He was captured by a native chief in 1824 at Kittoor, when the uncle of Thackeray the novelist was killed. He was in captivity there for a month, as I heard the story in 1868, from a Mutalik Desai of Dharwar, who saw that he got proper food, and again in 1885 from Sir Walter himself, when he was old and blind. This excellent and capable man started early on the discovery of Canarese inscriptions and coins : he kept up these studies throughout his career : he wrote a letter about the Tamil language on the morning of the day he died ; and a collection of his Indian coins and marbles may be seen at the British Museum, in like manner as the Arabian, Persian, and Sanskrit manuscripts which General Alexander Walker got together will be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

I dare say that many Border men here will notice that these tastes were shared by John Leyden the poet of Denholm and the Teviot, and I will have something to say about him ; but while I mention the Elliots of the Border, let me not forget Mr. Robert Elliot, the Laird of Clifton Park, who is doing for agriculture in Scotland what he has done for coffee-planting in Mysore, whose versatile mind turns from currency to tigers, from new grasses to the Canarese language, who finds interest in all things, and gives a new interest to all that he touches.

I come next to a group of Scotsmen who began Indian

life as surgeons, men of this same hard-working and versatile spirit who, instead of leaving home as the older soldiers and civilians did at the age of sixteen or seventeen, waited to pick up a little more book-learning before going out. Francis H. Buchanan (1762-1829), chief of the clan of that name, went with diplomatic missions to Ava and Nepal, of which latter State he wrote a history. The same learned Bengal surgeon was sent by Lord Wellesley to travel through and report on Mysore, Candara and Malabar. John Leyden (1775-1811) was in the East the last nine years of his life. Joseph Hume (1777-1855), the distinguished Radical leader, was in India from 1797 to 1807. His father, a shipmaster at Montrose, died early, and the boy was left on his mother's hands. The widow got along by keeping a crockery-stall in the market; she took care to send Joseph to school, and then to apprentice him to a local surgeon for three years, after which, as was common in Scotland—and long may it be so—he went to the University. Then Mr. David Scott, M.P. for Forfar, and a Director of the East India Company, got him a place as assistant-surgeon in its sea-service. The purser dying, Hume acted as purser, and being seen to be a man of merit, he got employ on land, where, like nearly all these clever Scoto-Indians, he at once set to work to master the native languages and customs, which led to him being employed in diplomacy, and as interpreter, as well as on campaigns. In all things he did well, and being careful and canny besides, he had managed to collect £40,000, with which he went home, occupying himself at first with visiting our manufacturing centres and translating Dante's grand poem. I need not follow his political career after he became M.P. for Montrose. As behoved a lover of the poets, he did a good thing or two for some fellow-townsmen distantly connected with Robert Burns. James Burnes was a writer to the signet and Provost of Montrose. Hume became the patron or spiritual father of two of this worthy man's sons. One was trained as a surgeon and shipped to Bombay,

where he rose to the highest offices, and was a traveller and explorer besides. This was James Burnes (1801-1862). His brother, Sir Alexander (1805-1841), who was killed in the massacre at Cabul, went out in the same ship, and immediately on arrival set to work at the native languages. He proved himself a daring traveller and explorer, and a fine diplomatist. Both of these brothers were authors, adventurous but plodding, brave and high-principled. It is pleasant to read Alexander's delight at being able to send home £50 to help his father before he had been two years out, pleasant, too, to find how kind other Scotsmen were to him, especially such rulers as Elphinstone and Malcolm, whom they met on first arrival. Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833), a brilliant soldier, statesman and governor, an author and something of a poet, had reached Madras in 1783. His father, the farmer of Burnfoot, near Langholm, on the Border, ambitious for his sons, availed himself of his laird's interest to get them into careers; and we find Sir John carefully supplying him with funds when they had fallen low; and in 1804, having put together £13,000, offering £300 a year to his mother and £100 to his sisters, "above all," he wrote, "let my dearest mother enjoy affluence." We see the very same trait in Robert Lindsay in his provision for his mother, the Countess of Crawford and Balcarres; and in John Leyden, a very frugal, moral, and religious man, who, when starting with Lord Minto to conquer Java, remitted £100 to his father at Denholm, and promised to send another £100 from Batavia. It is refreshing to read in Sir John Kaye's Memoir how, when Malcolm was contesting the Dumfries Burghs in 1832, he and two of his brothers, the three knights of Eskdale, were entertained at a banquet at the Crown Inn at Langholm. "The three veteran knights, who had left their home on the banks of the Esk as mere children, were now, after more than half a century of good service in different parts of the globe, airing their honours on their native hillsides, and with as keen a love of their

old homestead as in the freshest days of their early boyhood." Sir John Malcolm had a good heart as well as a good head, for we find that the great Mountstuart Elphinstone took note of his kind and indulgent manner to the natives in 1819. "It appears to particular advantage in his feelings towards the native army, and in the doctrines he has inculcated regarding them. It is melancholy to think that he is not young, and that he is the last of the class of politicians to whom he belongs. The later statesmen are certainly more imperious and harsher in their notions, and are inferior in wisdom, inasmuch as they reckon more on force than he does, and less on affection." These are the words of Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), who served in India without once coming home from 1796 to 1827 with the very highest distinction as diplomatist, law-maker and governor, and as a soldier under Wellington. He was also a great scholar and historian, and twice refused the offer of the Governor-Generalship. His father, Lord Elphinstone, was glad to use the influence of a brother in the Company's fleet to get two sons off to the Indian Civil Service, and Mountstuart at the age of seventeen had to quit a boarding-school at Kensington, to pack up and away, and never saw his mother again. Very interesting is his account of Scotland as it appeared to his eyes in 1829 as he passed from Netherby along the Esk by Gilonckie and Langholm on to Edinburgh. At last he reached his old home, Cumbernauld House in Dumbartonshire, the scene of his boyhood. For example, "I recognised the place where the barrel house stood in which I once left Gray's poems till they were spoiled by the rain. The moat is there, and the larch I planted, now a tall tree. . . . Going up to the west, I recognised several trees, but missed the wild plums." On the whole the feeling was that of sadness and desolation, as much pain as pleasure, since the old folks had passed away for ever. The courteous tenant of the house let him roam over it all alone. After big airy Indian bungalows, the staircases seemed small. "They were

quite unaltered, not only in the paintings, but the clock, the moose-deers' heads, and even the ostriches' eggs. The smallness of the rooms, the homely appearance of the wainscot, struck me most. I went through the whole house with many strange sensations and strong impressions of old times; many old pieces of furniture, old grates, the old horse, etc., and other things of the same sort which I had long forgotten were there as fresh as ever. I saw several of the old books in the library, and an infinite number of pictures that I have often thought of, but whose faces were quite familiar. The deepest impression was made on me by my mother's bedroom." In the policies he found the ruins of his mother's cottage, "the scene of many happy hours." "I saw in full perfection these earliest and dearest haunts of my childhood, and enjoyed what I never shall again, the recollection of the days of my father and mother, unmixed with more recent associations. . . . Six-and-thirty years of recollection are interwoven with those details, and henceforward I shall find it difficult to distinguish the old state of things from the new." Much more would I like to quote from the journal of this great Indian statesman, but I refrain, because long before Elphinstone's return, these wistful feelings of regret, which most Indian officers have felt, had been put into verse by a poetess living on the Border, Miss Susanna Blamire (1747-1794), in her poem entitled "The Nabob's Return." A certain Nabob called Patrick Maxwell felt these verses go so straight to his heart that he collected and published all that she wrote :

"As I drew near my ancient pile  
My heart beat a' the way ;  
Ilk place I passed seemed yet to speak  
O' some dear former day—  
Those days that followed me afar,  
Those happy days o' mine,  
Whilk made me think the present joys'  
A' naething to langsyne !

\* \* \* \* \*

"I ran to ilka dear friend's room,  
As if to find them there ;  
I knew where ilk ane used to sit  
And hung o'er mony a chair ;

Till soft remembrance threw a veil  
Across these een o' mine,  
I closed the door and sobbed aloud  
To think on auld langsyne."

From what I have said, it is plain that much of what literary and learned flavour has imbued our society in India has come from Scotland, which among historians can boast of Sir W. W. Hunter, Elphinstone, Malcolm, and Joseph D. Cunningham (1812-1815), the historian of the Sikhs. This last was a son of Allan Cunningham, the Nithsdale stonemason and poet, and like two of his brothers, Alexander and Francis, both literary men, attained distinction in India. The story how these lads got their start as military cadets is told in Lockhart's "Life of Walter Scott," and shows how among Scotsmen a man may take a neighbour's part, as Burns says, while avoiding the indignity of offering him hard cash. Breakfasting with Cunningham's family in London, Scott looked round the table and said: "What are you going to make of all these boys, Allan?" "I ask that question often of my own heart, and I cannot answer it," was the reply. "What does the eldest point to?" "The callant would fain be a soldier, Sir Walter, and I have a half promise of a commission in the King's army for him; but I wish rather he could go to India, for there the pay is a maintenance, and one can get on without interest." Sir Walter walked off to the President of the Board of Control, Dundas, Lord Melvill, and the same evening saw a director at dinner, and the result was that two of the "callants" were offered cadetships. Most Scotsmen are aware how some of Burns' family got similar provision. Indeed, the connection between the Indian services and the literature of the Border was a close one in those bygone days.

But I have wandered away from the Scottish surgeons whose abilities spread far beyond professional labours. Francis Buchanan, Joseph Hume, and James Burnes got safely home in the end, after their active Indian careers. So did Dr. Harkness, a surgeon in the Indian Marine, chosen



by Elphinstone to help in starting his educational plans at Bombay. I visited him some years ago at Dumfries. To John Leyden, a man well-tempered with the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* if ever there was one, the Fates dealt the boon of an early death. Having caught a chill in a room stored with Dutch books a few days after our army landed at Batavia, he died, as did Burns and Byron, at the age of thirty-six. A Scottish banker out there procured me a photograph of his grave, and means to send one of the house wherein he died, and I hope these memorials may find a place in Leyden's cottage at Denholm. His whole career is worthy of careful study, as thereby we may see the various causes and steps which enabled Scotsmen to win fame in India. The son of a shepherd, his early training and tastes remind one of James Hogg and William Laidlaw, two more of the Border poets, great friends of Walter Scott. Some of us know the farm of Nether Tofts, under Ruberslaw, where Leyden's father became steward to his mother's uncle. Here his grandmother taught him to read. Some of us have been taken to the school at Kirkton, as Wordsworth was by Scott, who said: "Hither Leyden came across the moors every day, a poor, bare-footed boy," nine or ten years old. To make this road to learning easier, his father bought a donkey for him, and the boy got the seller to throw in an old dictionary of eight languages he had in his house. Leyden wrestled with Latin in his own way, and to this he put down much of his later linguistic quickness. The father, keenly watching his boy of twelve years, gets the minister of Denholm to teach him Latin and Greek, so we find him reading Homer and Chapman's translation. But, as with many Scotsmen, the romance of his country had taken hold of him. He learned and loved the lilts and ballads, the tales and legends, which connect every tower and hill and stream of the Borderland with the world of fairies and spirits and the battles of long ago. What a set of homely pictures might be drawn from Leyden's simple life by a Wilkie, or a Faed, or our present

Border painter, Tom Scott, of Earlston! Look at the bare-footed boy, following up through the snow the surly blacksmith, who chanced to have an odd volume of the "Arabian Nights," which at last he gave to Leyden when the wintry day was closing. See him reading Froissart in the library of Cavers House, where the standard borne by the Douglas at Otterbourne is preserved; or walking forty miles and back among the folding hills to take down a ballad from some old peasant's mouth for Sir Walter's Border Minstrelsy. Then comes his time at Edinburgh University, preparing for the Church, diving into languages, ethics, mathematics, and science; next his longing for adventures, to follow Mungo Park of Yarrowside to the African wild, and I believe that about this time, on return from his first travel, Park had set up as a doctor at Hawick. Then comes the project of Scott and Sir James Mackintosh, helped out by W. Dundas, of the Board of Control, to find Leyden a place in India, because he already knew Oriental languages. As nothing better could be got than an offer of assistant surgeon, Leyden turned to medicine, and with a loan from Scott, hoisted his sail for Madras, after saying good-bye to his family in 1802. But already the bees had settled on his lips, and his poems, musical and tender, delighted all his readers. When being nursed by Malcolm at Seringapatam after a fever, as they capped verses together, Leyden explained modestly:

"For Teviot's youths I wrote the lays,  
For Border maids my songs I sung."

Now, although in the highest ranks of Indian statesmen, from the age of Warren Hastings to Sir Alfred Lyall's time, there have aye been lovers of the muse, the tendency of official life, the bias of the safe, dull, laborious heads of departments, is to be severe on men like Leyden. Unfair stress is laid on their mannerisms and dialect, and in all seriousness you hear it said that their poetry proves nothing, and therefore they are dubbed unpractical. I turn therefore to the official part of Leyden's life to do him full justice. He

rose by his own merits ; he played many parts, and did well in all. He got into the Indian service on the plea, urged by his friends, that he would add to our knowledge of Indian languages, religions, and customs. He applied his mind to these things when he was surgeon of the Ceded districts and in the survey of Mysore. Lord Minto got him over to Bengal, where he was at first professor in the college, and then judge of the Twenty-four Pergunnas, and head of the police, whom he led boldly against gangs of robbers. In 1809 he was Commissioner of Requests and Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint. Lady Minto tells us that the fact of both the Governor-General and John Leyden coming from Teviot-water was held sacred even on the banks of the Ganges. Certainly Lord Minto, who on his voyage to Java read Cicero, Ossian, Crabbe's "Borough," and the "Lady of the Lake," must have had much in common with his uncouth, fervid, brilliant, independent friend, the shepherd's son.

He writes humorously that Leyden, if at Babel, would have spoken every tongue heard there, while the *how* or twang of Teviotdale would rise louder than any. But he pays tribute to Leyden's "stupendous learning," his vast erudition in all things Indian. For this reason Minto had chosen him and that great man Stamford Raffles to help him with their Malay lore when he started to annex the Dutch Islands. Some years ago I was editing Sangermano's "Burma," and came across a store of learning collected by Leyden when recovering from sickness at Penang. Lord Minto had much to do with the Civil Service of those days, and was a sagacious judge of men ; his choice of Leyden for a distinguished and special post is, therefore, the best proof one can give of the poet's fitness. If in common with many of us he had "the hair-brained, sentimental trace," that only made him more adventurous and ingenious ; it was the link between Ruberslaw and the deadly Batavian warehouse, between the poets and historians who bewailed him and the servants of the East India Company. He was

a Scot and a Borderer to the backbone. The poor, precise, and frugal home; the parish school; the Sabbath kept holy with the Bible and the Psalms; the father who fosters his son's learning; the Presbyterian minister who teaches him classics; the poets on Ettrick and Yarrow and Tweed whom he gets to know; the cheap University with its illustrious students—these are peculiarly Scottish. In all ranks, from the Peers downwards, there were more sons born than the father could keep or the house contain. The clan system had fallen into decay, and the wars with the English were over; so the best way the sons could help the father was to depart early, and push their way in lands very far off, sending for their brothers in a few years, and sending money home to help them. They became men long before English boys leave the public schools, and, instead of hanging on to their father's coat-tails, they soon became the support of the household. They were too proud to accept charity for themselves or their race. "Money lent shall be repaid," Leyden wrote at his last sight of England; and, when Malcolm got Leyden's father to come to Minto House, the old man told him he would rather go on working at the farm than accept money from a premature edition of his son's poems. Reading these memoirs and letters I am reminded of an honest family described by Dean Ramsay. The hard-working father was dead, and when the widow lay a-dying her two sons asked her to be sure to tell their father that they had paid off all the debt he had left behind. Out of this keen feeling of honour in the joint family, and the energy and sacrifice it gives rise to, much of old Scotia's grandeur springs.

Where but in Scotland do you find boys like Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827), the Madras cadet who became Governor of that presidency? The son of a Glasgow merchant, whom the Union allowed to trade with Virginia, he attended the University for three years, beginning at thirteen, becoming distinguished in mathematics and chemistry, reading much good literature, and, even as a boy, learning

Spanish in order to enjoy "Don Quixote." He was a clerk in a counting-house when his father stopped payment. He was glad of the Indian appointment; but, having no money to pay for his passage, he worked his way out as an ordinary seaman. While still in great poverty himself, he and a brother who had joined him regularly remitted £100 a year between them to their broken-down parents. I have served in districts he ruled where his great and good memory is fondly cherished. The highest compliment a native can pay a civilian is to compare him to Munro. In a recent memoir it is reported that they name their boys after him, Munrolappa, and that wandering minstrels sing ballads in his praise, as I have heard them in Bombay singing the fame of Colonel Lang, Political Agent, fondly remembered at Kattywar. He was also a Scotsman.

I have dealt much with the past, following the good example of my friend Mr. James Douglas, an old resident of Bombay, who has written some fine volumes on that Presidency. There you will find how Scotsmen have been in the van of commerce, and I can tell you that they are still to the front in the great cities of India and Burma, at Singapore and in China. Scotsmen have always understood banking, and they have spread banks all over the East. You find few Scots lawyers; and, while I remember three Irish Chief Justices at Bombay and three Puisne Judges, I have never had a Scottish colleague in the High Court there except Sir William Wedderburn. I have seen many Scots high in the Civil Service—Lieutenant-Governors, *e.g.*, Sir Donald Macleod, Sir George Campbell, Sir William Muir, Sir Charles Aitchison, Sir Alexander Mackenzie; many others in ranks just below, such as Sir W. W. Hunter and Sir James Campbell, the compilers of statistical accounts; Sir W. Bissett, who controls the Indian railways; and Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, famous for his work in Egypt and the Nile. Mr. W. Cowie, the pioneer and manager of our fine new Colony in North Borneo, is also a Scotsman. The race has all its ancient vitality. But in

trade the competition is becoming great, and the young German merchants, highly trained in technical schools, have got a big share, and so have the Greeks. Both England and Ireland have made strides in education, and the Civil Service regulations suit Oxford better than any other University; so that if Scotsmen mean to occupy that very desirable career in force, they must see that the Scottish Universities organize themselves for the purpose, as St. Andrews has done already, and, as I am informed, Glasgow also. While the old clannish feeling was still remembered, and Scotsmen, in their strength of family affection, and in the intelligence produced by education, were ahead of the world, much was secured by patronage and the judicious efforts of lairds and neighbours, poets, brothers, and mothers' brothers; but nowadays, although in the matter of Indian judgeships and the Indian State Church, Scotsmen have a harder time, their best ambitions ought to be served by the present democratic system of filling appointments by learned competition. I would therefore strongly advise you all to see to it, that public money shall be spent on education, and that the ladder by which shepherds' sons and tenant farmers' sons can reach the University and the Indian Services is always kept in good repair where every boy can see it and make use of it. I need hardly say, however, that I lay still higher stress on that hardy, upright character which in India and elsewhere is usually found along with the many-sided and energetic qualities which have helped so many Scotsmen to run the race set before them.

[This paper was read before the London Scottish Border Counties Association on March 6, 1901.]



## ENGLISH JURISPRUDENCE AND INDIAN STUDIES IN LAW.

WE have pleasure in publishing the following able address which was delivered at the Convocation of the Punjab University on January 2, 1901, by the Hon. C. L. Tupper, B.A., C.S.I., Vice-Chancellor of the University :

The remarks I am about to offer on English Jurisprudence and Indian Studies in Law are primarily addressed to those of you who have completed or are still pursuing the Law School course ; but I wish also in parts of my address to submit for the consideration of men already practising at the Bar, of the Fellows of the University, and of members of the Punjab Commission who may be interested in legal studies, some suggestions bearing on the prospects of those studies in India, and more especially on the opportunities which we in the Punjab possess for the scientific study of law.

It has happened several times in the course of history that the intellectual soil of a great country or continent has been overspread and fertilized by a great literature which was not its own. Rome, for instance, cannot be said to have had a literature of her own until the indigenous capacity for satire and rough versification had been fructified by contact with Greek art :

*"Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit."*

And Rome, the mother of law and of jurisprudence, never produced a philosophy of her own, but borrowed the Stoic belief in a law of Nature with those consequences upon the development of legal ideas which are well known to all readers of "Ancient Law."

The Renaissance—that is, the intellectual transition from medieval to modern Europe—may be said to have begun with the revival of letters, and to have culminated in the Reformation ; and in the revival of letters the great literatures of Greece and Rome rose, as it were, from the dead to resume their sway over the minds of all races of the West which then had political importance. Here in India the establishment of British dominion has assigned to English literature the functions of Greek literature in ancient Italy, and of Greek and Roman literature when the middle ages were passing away. The more advanced races of this country have not been slow to accept as their classical models the masters of English style ; and as years roll by we see increasing signs that Western ideas are being assimilated, though the process of assimilation, largely aided by Indian Universities, is necessarily slower than the process of acquiring proficiency in the use of the English tongue.

The rise of the Universities in Europe was not directly connected with the revival of classical learning, and, indeed, preceded it, being due to separate causes, amongst which may be mentioned the spread of the scholastic philosophy, the influence of the Teutonic guilds, and the inade-

quacy of the cathedral and monastic schools to provide for secular instruction. Dante and Petrarch were the heralds of the Renaissance. It was, indeed, the lute of Petrarch that recalled the classic muse from Acheron. These great poets cover between them the period from 1265 A.D. to 1374 A.D. The school at Salerno, which perhaps should not at that time be called a University, was famous throughout Europe in the eleventh century. Though Bologna did not possess any University till the close of the twelfth century, lectures on the civil law were delivered there in 1113 A.D. The University of Paris was recognised as a corporation about the year 1211. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were modelled on that of Paris, and their origin may be traced to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the founding of Universities proceeded in the various countries of Europe, and though the revival of Greek and Latin scholarship was not their direct or original aim, the eagerness of the thousands of students who flocked to those centres of learning was an indication of that re-awakening in Europe to the intellectual life which we describe by the general name of the Renaissance.

Compared with the venerable seats of European learning, our Indian Universities are but things of mushroom growth. The three oldest of the Indian Universities—those of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta—are not yet half a century old, all three having been founded in the year of the Mutiny. We date, as you all know, from 1882. The Allahabad University was founded in 1887. The creation of all of these Universities may be ascribed to the urgent need of the higher education felt under the changed conditions due to the pacification of India, to the recognition in this country of the practical value of Western knowledge as a means of livelihood, and, especially here in the Punjab, to a rekindled interest in Oriental studies, of which the torch had smouldered low amid the dust and smoke of many battlefields. In the revival of letters, in the Renaissance of Europe, there was an ardent enthusiasm for learning for its own sake. I fear we can hardly claim at present that the Renaissance due in India to the establishment of British rule is under that potent spell. But our Universities, as I have said, are young; it is our season for hopefulness; and a long experience of this country has convinced me that the ferment instilled into the intellectual life of India by habitual contact with Western ideas is slowly but surely spreading as the knowledge of English becomes more common, and is operative less amongst students in the class-room than amongst men already engaged in the practical business of life.

Taking, however, the foundation of the Universities as one of the signs of the Indian Renaissance now in progress, I observe that all make some provision for instruction in law, and all include in their law courses the study of Jurisprudence. This could hardly be otherwise. No University would be worthy of the name if it ignored the theoretical and scientific aspects of a subject learnt as a means of entering on a profession. It is the function of a University to preside over an education not merely such as will enable the students to earn their bread, but such as shall elevate their minds and enlarge their mental horizon. I hope that someone may be induced before long to examine thoroughly the whole question of legal

education in India. The figures that I have been able to obtain are not quite up to date, but they exhibit a healthy growth, and show that we may at any rate reckon by some thousands every year those who, while yet young men, have some concern with the study of Jurisprudence. In 1886-87 there were in India eighteen law schools or colleges, including, of course, departments of colleges teaching law, and there were 1,716 students of law in these institutions. In 1896-97 the number of institutions had risen to thirty-four, and of students to 3,020. The progress of our own Law School has been very remarkable; it had seventy-one students in 1886-87, in 1891-92 eighty-five, in 1900 370.

In whatever degree knowledge of the English language and contact with Western learning may now be influencing other studies in India, there is no doubt that, in the study of Jurisprudence, English Jurisprudence reigns alone. It is therefore to the growth of English Jurisprudence and to its relation to our own opportunities of furthering the cause of science, more especially in this Province, that I wish to direct your attention to-day. In so doing I will ask you merely to bear in mind three great names, familiar as household words to all students of law. I refer, as you will have anticipated, to Bentham, Austin, and Maine.

Jeremy Bentham was born in 1748. His "Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation," though begun in 1776, was not published till 1789. His "Fragment on Government" was, however, published anonymously in 1776. His long life of benevolent enthusiasm ended in 1832, so that John Austin, who was born in 1790, had passed the mature age of forty whilst his predecessor was still at work. Maine was born in 1822 and died in 1888. "Ancient Law" was published in 1861, two years after Austin's death; and Maine's last work, his lectures on International Law, appeared posthumously. You will observe, therefore, that the work of these three great jurists covers very little more than a century, ending only twelve years ago. I think the Indian law students of to-day are fortunate in having the field of English Jurisprudence opened to them at a time when by the labours of these great masters it has been cleared of much useless matter which formerly cumbered the soil, and when these great masters have themselves indicated directly or by almost necessary implication the future methods of research.

Bentham was above all things an ardent reformer of the law. He inherited a fortune, and his life was uneventful. His time was passed working six or eight hours a day at his fragmentary and voluminous treatises on law and legislation, and at the composition of his civil and criminal codes, leaving always much to be done by judicious editors, to whom he gave a free hand. His correspondence with the foremost of his contemporaries was untiring. He had, it is said, a benevolence of manner suited to the philanthropy of his mind, and his features in old age betokened not only benevolence, but serenity and conscious power. I have come across a sketch of him as he appeared in old age, which is so lifelike that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it: "His apparel hung loosely about him, and consisted chiefly of a gray coat, light breeches, and white woollen stockings, hanging loosely about his legs, whilst his venerable locks, which

floated over the collar and down his back, were surmounted by a straw hat of most grotesque and indescribable shape, communicating to his appearance a strong contrast to the quietude and sobriety of his general aspect." He had gathered about him many friends and admirers, and led at his country place, Ford Abbey, and before that in Queen Square, Westminster, the typical life of a philosopher.

Austin and his gifted wife also lived in Queen Square, almost next door to James Mill, the historian of British India, and father of John Stuart Mill; and their windows overlooked the garden of Jeremy Bentham, who was one of their very intimate friends. Bentham never attempted, and Austin did not attain, any success at the Bar. So far as immediate fame and the usual rewards of prominent ability are concerned, Austin's life was a failure. This was partly due to his constitutional methods of work and partly to debility. Lord Brougham is reported to have said of him that if Austin had had health neither Lord Lyndhurst nor Brougham himself would have been Chancellor.

Austin is the foremost of the analytical jurists, and he continued Bentham's work. What is meant by Analytical Jurisprudence is perhaps best seen from a passage in Austin's outline of his course of lectures, where he says that, having determined the province of Jurisprudence and distinguished general from particular Jurisprudence, he intends to "analyze certain notions which meet us at every step as we travel through the science of law." He then proceeds to give a list of the leading notions to which he refers—a list which may be compendiously described as the main contents of most legal systems of maturity. The terms "legal right" and "legal duty" are in the list, amongst many others, but do not there hold the prominent place with which you are familiar in the lectures which you have studied—lectures intended to determine the province of Jurisprudence, to indite, in fact, the mere prolegomena of the work which Austin had in view. The terms "command," "duty," and "sanction," "positive law" and "positive morality," "sovereignty" and "independent political society," which are analyzed in those lectures, are now commonly used by educated men in the senses which Austin put upon them. If we are now sometimes at a loss to comprehend the vehemence with which he insisted on seemingly obvious matters, and the extraordinary iteration with which he pressed his points home, we may, I think, find the explanation in the extreme thoroughness with which his work was done. The battle against confusion of thought and mere mysticism was completely won; and what was seventy years ago only to be gained by keen controversy, is now in the quiet possession of all educated men.

Analytical Jurisprudence did not, of course, end with Austin, and, indeed, if anyone made such a suggestion, you would immediately contradict him by referring to the admirable treatise on the Elements of Law by Sir William Markby, in which the method of analysis is extended to "ownership," "possession," "easements," "security," "prescription," "liability," and "succession." The view that I wish to put before you is to the contrary effect. I would distinguish two further movements in English jurisprudence since Austin's work ceased; Analytical Jurispru-

dence has been supplemented by Historical, or Comparative Jurisprudence, and all three appear to me to have merged in Scientific Jurisprudence in a sense which I shall presently explain. These movements notwithstanding, I hold that Analytical Jurisprudence will always be indispensable. No science can make assured progress until it has acquired an accepted terminology. Analytical Jurisprudence stands to the rest of the science in the relation of the definitions in an enactment to the body of the statute, or of a General Clauses Act to the body of the statutes at large. It maintains coherence and accuracy in discussion by attaching consistent meanings to the terms employed, and for this reason, if for no other, must always occupy the front rank in any scheme of legal education.

Analytical Jurisprudence, as I have just implied, may be distinguished from Comparative Jurisprudence, and Comparative Jurisprudence from Historical Jurisprudence; but Comparative Jurisprudence, in the more restricted sense of the term, is very closely connected with Analytical Jurisprudence, while Historical Jurisprudence, largely understood, is the forerunner of Comparative Jurisprudence in the largest sense of that phrase.

Austin has very clearly defined what he means by General Jurisprudence in a passage in his third volume. "I mean," he says, "by General Jurisprudence the science concerned with the exposition of the principles, notions, and distinctions which are common to systems of law, understanding by systems of law the ampler and maturer systems which, by reason of their amplitude and maturity, are pre-eminently pregnant with instruction." This definition would leave out of account the whole of our Customary Law, but you will observe that it implies the comparison of mature systems such as that of the Roman Law and of the Laws of England, France, and Prussia, because, without such comparison, it would be impossible to decide what the common elements are. This, then, is the restricted meaning of the expression Comparative Jurisprudence: the comparative study of mature systems of law. I think the idea that Austin had of the utility of this study was that it would facilitate the codification of law amongst Western nations. I do not think the scientific use of such a comparison, to which I shall presently advert, ever occurred to him; perhaps at the time he wrote it could not have occurred to anyone.

Comparative Jurisprudence in the restricted sense is no more to be discarded than Analytical Jurisprudence. It is, or ought to be, a powerfully energetic motor in the machinery for the improvement of the laws of the West. Where societies stand at the same general level of civilization, it is obviously extremely useful for the purposes of enlightened legislation to ascertain in what way the same problems have been handled by the courts and legislatures of such societies in different parts of the world.

But in Indian legislation it would be most dangerous to rely exclusively on Comparative Jurisprudence in the restricted sense of the term. It is easy—only too easy—to assume that rules upon which all the greatest of the advanced nations are substantially agreed must necessarily be suitable for a country of enormous diversity, where different tracts or provinces

stand at very different degrees of development ; where some tribes, indeed, are not removed from barbarism, and many others, were it not for us, would, to use a phrase which I have elsewhere borrowed from Sir Alfred Lyall, still stand in the pre-feudal stage. Putting aside procedure—the first necessity in any attempt at the regular administration of justice—and criminal law—the first necessity in any attempt to curb the reckless and ruthless violence of primitive man—it has always seemed to me that the acceptance of any rule of law by an advanced Western nation affords ‘a presumption not for, but against, the suitability of the rule to this country. The presumption may be rebutted by showing that in essentials the circumstances are the same ; but ordinarily the circumstances are not the same, for the simple reason that the two societies stand in different planes of development.

Comparative Jurisprudence, in the wider sense of the term, includes the Comparative Jurisprudence which is a corollary of Austin’s system, and it includes a great deal more. In the wider sense, Comparative Jurisprudence stands on the same footing as Comparative Philology, Comparative Mythology, and Comparative Politics. “We shall,” said Sir Henry Maine, in describing what he meant by Comparative Jurisprudence, “examine a number of parallel phenomena, with the view of establishing, if possible, that some of them are related to one another in the order of historical succession.” “I think,” he adds, “I may venture to affirm that the Comparative Method, which has already been fruitful of such wonderful results, is not distinguishable in some of its applications from the Historical Method. We take a number of contemporary facts, ideas, and customs, and we infer the past form of these facts, ideas, and customs, not only from historical records of that past form, but from examples of it which have not yet died out of the world, and are still to be found in it.”

Analytical Jurisprudence and that kind of Comparative Jurisprudence which is its immediate offspring are, indeed, scientific in the same sense that Euclid is scientific, or the pure Political Economy of Ricardo, or of parts of the treatise by John Stuart Mill. Certain postulates are taken for granted, to certain terms definite meanings are annexed, and a coherent body of doctrine is built up which commands assent so long as we do not challenge its first principles. But the comparative method, as described by Sir Henry Maine, is scientific in the same sense that the methods of Biology are scientific. Indeed, if in the passage I have quoted we substitute for facts, ideas, and customs, the famous words *genera* and *species*, and for historical records *the geological and embryological records*, we have, I think, an accurate description of a part of the actual method of Biology.

This passage in Maine’s “Village Communities” leads us to the very portal of Sociology, but the threshold is not passed. In later writings Maine foreshadowed a new science, which would include Jurisprudence, but to which he did not give a name. It is, however, but a step from the point to which Maine leads us to say that the science of Jurisprudence must henceforth be regarded as a branch of the science of Sociology. The



theory of legal evolution—that is, a set of consistent generalizations from known facts in the growth of legal institutions and ideas—is, of course, as yet only in the making; but even in its present rudimentary condition we can see that it necessarily forms a part of the theory of the evolution of society, and towards that theory perceptible advances have been made in many quarters in our own day.

I hope I have made clear the affiliation of the various studies which may be grouped under the general name of Jurisprudence. Analytical Jurisprudence generates Comparative Jurisprudence of the first kind; Historical Jurisprudence, touched by the electric current of modern science, generates Comparative Jurisprudence of the second kind; and all, Analytical, Historical, and Comparative Jurisprudence, combine to form Scientific Jurisprudence considered as a branch of Sociology.

Nothing, I may observe in passing, is more striking than the fruitfulness of scientific ideas in generating their like. As I said in a line of Horace at the beginning of this paper, “captive Greece led captive her conqueror”; and though in one sense the position is reversed here, because British rule has brought with it British literature, yet in another sense it is directly to Indian influences on the West that we owe the latest developments of Jurisprudence. The study of Sanskrit gave birth to Comparative Philology, and it is to Comparative Philology that we owe Comparative Jurisprudence in the wider sense of the term.

As to the connection between the studies to which I have referred, and the manner in which each aids the other, I would say that Analytical Jurisprudence is the anatomy of fully developed systems of law, while Scientific Jurisprudence, largely understood, is the Biology of the legal institutions of mankind. Scientific Jurisprudence can no more dispense with analysis than Biology can dispense with the structural investigation of the existing forms of animal life. Comparison of one institution with another, or of the same or analogous institutions in different countries and times, is indispensable if we would arrive at any conclusions as to the order and nature of the evolution of laws and legal ideas. Historical Jurisprudence examines the laws of one particular country or empire, such as that of Rome, with the object of explaining their successive acceptance or enactment, and connecting them with other historical facts; or it takes one particular branch of the law of a given country, such as the criminal law or the constitutional law or the law of real property, and, with a similar aim, traces that from its origin to its present condition. Comparative Jurisprudence, in the wider sense of the term, compares the legal institutions of different countries and times for the purpose of discovering the laws of their growth. Thus, both Comparative Jurisprudence, in the narrower sense of the term, and Historical Jurisprudence subserve the purposes of Comparative Jurisprudence in the wider sense of the term, and therefore of Scientific Jurisprudence at large, because they provide those means of comparison upon which the progress of the science depends. In this way all these kinds of Jurisprudence—Analytical, Comparative, Historical—are tributaries of the great stream which I have called Scientific Jurisprudence at large; and, like your five rivers before

they unite in the Indus, they independently fertilize wide spaces while on their course to join that combined flood which is used, and will be more and more used as time goes on, in ever-expanding fertilization.

You will notice that in all I have said I have not forgotten Austin's definition of Jurisprudence as the philosophy or science of positive law, though I practically include in the term positive law much that is not the command of a political superior, and that would, by a strict application of Austin's terminology, be described as positive morality. You are probably familiar with the criticism of Austin's definition of positive law, that, except by an extraordinary straining of language, in the course of which we should have to bring into play Section 5 of the Punjab Laws Act and the decisions of the Chief Court, it cannot be made to cover the Customary Law that we have here in the Punjab. The most that could be said is that the rules of Punjab Customary Law are the commands of the Sovereign, because the courts will enforce them when they can be ascertained. In this and similar difficulties, where there are practices corresponding to laws, but no independent political communities, no Sovereign, no commands enjoining generally acts or forbearances of a class, we may, I think, properly seek the aid of Comparative Jurisprudence in the narrower sense of the term. Wherever in the analysis of a mature legal system you find any subject or institution, such as—to draw our illustrations from our Punjab Laws Act—succession, betrothal, marriage, adoption, guardianship, gifts, partitions, or the family, it is a perfectly legitimate process to take the analogous subject or institution in the practices of primitive or barbarous tribes, or of feudal or pre-feudal societies, and to examine that as a proper subject of Scientific Jurisprudence. You may very likely find the practice mixed up with religion, and it will probably be an expression of whatever fills the place of morality at the time; but we know that the strands of ideas, like the stems and branches and the leaves and flowers of plants, become unfolded and separated as they grow, and the mere fact that a specimen of some archaic usage may be buried in extraneous matter, which has to be cleared away before it can be fully examined, in no way detracts from the scientific value of the find.

Scientific Jurisprudence has, of course, another aspect, in that it is the handmaid of legislation. There is not only the science of legal institutions as they now exist, and as they have actually existed on the face of the earth: there is also the science of law as it ought to be, otherwise called the science of legislation. I merely mention this to mark off one limit to my present remarks. I am not discussing in this paper the science of law as it ought to be, which is a chapter in Ethics, just as the science of legal institutions as they exist, or have existed, is a chapter in Sociology. I will limit myself here to two observations. First, I believe that the chapter of Sociology, when elaborated, will facilitate the rewriting of the chapter of Ethics. Secondly, I anticipate that the effect of the one rewritten chapter on the other will be briefly this: that the theory of utility will be supplemented and corrected by the theory of social progress.

It is, however, certainly a part of my present object to inquire what we can do in the Punjab to further the cause of the science of Jurisprudence

as described and limited above. I would point out that something has been done already, and a good deal of it, as it happens, by my predecessors in the office of Vice-Chancellor. The Kangra Settlement Report of your first Vice-Chancellor, Sir James Lyall, is a mine of information on primitive customs and ideas. Mr. Baden-Powell, your second Vice-Chancellor, has published a work of extraordinary research on the Indian village community. Sir William Rattigan's Digest of our Customary Law is, I think I may venture to say, the most comprehensive, and for the practical work of the courts the most useful, of all the compilations on that subject; he has, moreover, written a learned work on Jurisprudence which is a text-book in this University. Mr. Elsmie, in his "Notes on Crime and Criminals on the Peshawar Frontier," has adduced facts of considerable sociological value. It is, I believe, generally admitted that of the codes contained in the Punjab Customary Law Series none surpasses the Code of the Ludhiana district which Mr. Gordon Walker prepared. Finally, Sir Charles Roe, in his "Tribal Law in the Punjab," has summed up the present position with reference to our Customary Law as it appears to the highest judicial authority. In all these books there is something, and in many of them there is much, for the student of Jurisprudence considered as a branch of Sociology.

Now, I do not think it is by any means a mere coincidence that most of your Vice-Chancellors have made these contributions to the materials which Scientific Jurisprudence has to compare. I think the fact is due to the actual nature of our opportunities, and that it suggests to us a line of research in which I, for one, should heartily rejoice if our University acquired a good name. I would ask attention to a paper to which most of you, without very much trouble, will be able to refer. At pages 904 to 911 of the *Gazette of India* for November 9, 1895, you will find the prospectus of a Society of Comparative Legislation which originated in proposals by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, and obtained the support of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and many other eminent men. This society proposes to apply to Jurisprudence the comparative method of investigation, and is intended to be of service to legislative bodies, to practising lawyers, to jurists, and to students of Sociology. "In India alone," so the prospectus runs, "which is at once, to cite Sir Henry Maine's language, 'the great repository of verifiable phenomena of ancient usage and ancient juridical thought,' and the scene of some of the most interesting modern experiments in legislation, is a limitless field for work such as the society seeks to promote. There ancient and modern codes co-exist. In customs and usages still observed are legal conceptions of which in the Western world are only obscure traces; and the meeting of several diverse systems of law has given rise to problems akin to those which in the decline of the Roman Empire arose from the contact of its law with the customs and laws of other States." This shows you what, in the opinion of some very competent judges, our opportunities are. I hope we shall continue to make good use of them; and if we do, I venture to anticipate some benefit to the causes alike of science and of sound legislation in India.

Finally, I would say to those of you who are pursuing, or who have just

completed the Law School course, do not leave Jurisprudence behind you as you enter on the actual business of life. The Muse of Jurisprudence is no crabbed nor idle one. She can offer intellectual satisfaction more especially to those who can find pleasure in abstract ideas and abstract reasoning, but are repelled by the mysticism of some philosophies which move in an ever-recurring cycle from mere assumption to mere scepticism, and which do not, after all, lift even one corner of the dark veil for ever drawn between humanity and the ultimate problems of life and mind. Far more than a means of intellectual satisfaction, Jurisprudence, from its effect upon the science of legislation, has immense influence and immense value in practical affairs. By the courts and by the legislatures law is ever in the making; and though judges and legislators are mainly guided by the actual requirements of the particular case or country, and by the sagacity which they derive from habitual occupation in public business, the success of their efforts in making the law will surely in great measure depend upon the soundness of their views on social and legal progress and the firmness of their grasp upon that science of legislation which is related to the Science of Jurisprudence as I have explained.

I have said nothing definite as yet on the moral aspect of the study, partly because that aspect is so obvious that a very few words will suffice, and partly because I did imply some allusion to the matter in the sketch I gave you of Bentham's life and personality, thinking as I made the sketch that, in the cause of morality, the example of such a benevolent sage as Bentham is far more precious than any lengthy discourse. I am afraid that lawyers as a class have no enviable reputation for benevolence, and that there is at least one proverbial description of them which suggests that they are rather the enemies than the friends of mankind. No doubt in all professions men are to be found who prefer their private advantage to everything else, and have no regard for the well-being of society except so far as it affects themselves. But if there are such men in the legal as in other professions, this should not blind us to the fact that the aim of all law is the prevention or mitigation of human suffering. If it is the object of Medical Science to check or alleviate physical disease or infirmity, it is no less an object of the science of Jurisprudence to suggest the means of saving the innocent from those injuries which are habitually threatened by what is evil in the nature of man.

Jurisprudence, indeed, and Justice and Mercy are three sisters: Jurisprudence is the wisdom and Mercy the grace of the law; and from underneath the place where these three are enthroned flow out continually the healing waters which, in proportion to the strength, the skill, the courage and the honesty with which they are directed, redress the grievances, right the wrongs, or overwhelm the iniquities of mankind.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE MUSULMANS OF INDIA.

BY S. KHUDA BUKHSH, B.C.L. OXON.

AT the dawn of the new century we may look back upon the century which has just closed to consider what progress has been made by the Muhammadans, and what prospect lies before them. The first half of the century was far too cloudy and stormy for the growth of "pacific culture" or for the development of civic life. The whole social edifice had to be painfully reconstructed after the Mutiny, and the progress which we are considering now has all been made within the last fifty years.

With this Muslim Renaissance—if I may use that word—the name of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is indissolubly bound up. That heroic warrior, whose death we have had lately to mourn, was the first and foremost soldier in "the liberation war" of the Muslim India; nay, it was he who first inaugurated the crusade against the spirit of ignorance, bigotry and fanaticism which held the Musulmans of India in chains, and which fought tooth and nail against the reception of modern ideas and modern thoughts. Though at the outset Sir Syed was met by a storm of opposition, and was cried down as a setter-forth of strange things, yet, like all true prophets who bring glad tidings of great joy to suffering humanity, he worked on with undaunted and unremitting energy, and eventually succeeded in converting the greater portion of the Musulman community to his way of thinking. Towards the evening of his life his victory was complete, and he lived long enough, indeed, to see the fruits of his victory and the triumph of his cause. Be it noted that so marked was his success all along the line, that when death had placed the noble teacher out of the reach of envy and calumny, even those who, during his life, denied him ordinary courtesies, joined hands with his devoted ad-

herents in garlanding his tomb and in pointing to him as their greatest benefactor.

Sir Syed was as great a thinker as a practical worker. He did not formulate impracticable theories, nor did he indulge in philosophic vagaries or poetical illusions, but with true political wisdom hit upon the right thing at the right time. He made plans and carried them out. The most enduring monument of his life is the Aligarh College, which has become a literary focus to which Muhammadans from all parts of India congregate. Not merely is the intellectual side of education nursed and trained, but also the social and physical side is equally cared for. By making provision for religious training Sir Syed overcame the objection and resistance of the orthodox class to English education. It may be mentioned here that Muhammadans, till about the middle of the last century, and even to a much later date, were extremely reluctant to give English education to their children, and indeed for this reason, that in the advance of English education they rightly or wrongly argued that their faith would be imperilled.

It was the ambition of Sir Syed to see the Aligarh College enlarged into a Muslim University, an ambition which he, however, was not destined to see realized.

A movement has already been set on foot to carry into effect the wish of the founder, and large subscriptions collected for the purpose, but the scheme is yet far from completion.

Ten lakhs of rupees are required, and it is to be hoped that the Musulmans of India will hearken to the voice of duty, and will come forward with their purse and their assistance to a cause which may well be termed "national."

Like the Aligarh College, the Muslim Educational Conference, which meets year by year at an important centre, owes its birth to Sir Syed. Its great object is to bring together Muslims of various parts to deliberate upon social reforms and the methods of effecting them; to promote brotherly feeling, and to foster brotherly interest among



them ; to discuss the means of diffusing knowledge among the masses, and to assure the Government of India that that which conduces to their welfare as a community conduces likewise to the strength of the Government. Memory is still alive of the time when the loyalty of the Musulmans was seriously impeached, but Sir Syed would not suffer such an imputation to rest upon them, and he immediately entered the field to prove to the Government that such an assumption was wholly unwarranted by facts, and quite untenable. He showed conclusively in his defence of the Musulman community (which has become since then almost classical) that the Musulmans of India, far from being disaffected, were loyal to the core, and firmly clung to the Government. Thus the gulf of distrust and misconception was bridged over, and in the light of subsequent events one cannot but applaud the political foresight and statesmanlike wisdom of Sir Syed. The trust which the Government reposes in the Muhammadans and the love and loyalty with which they look up to it for guidance and assistance and encouragement, would have been hardly possible had the cloud of suspicion hung over them.

Sir Syed was conspicuous alike as a political leader, social reformer, and religious teacher. The Wahabi movement had but scant success in India. It battled chiefly against two evils which had become engrafted on Islam. In the first place it struck a blow at the doctrine which ascribed Divine attributes to the Prophet, and in the second it declared the luxuriant growth of Hindu customs and superstitions in the Islam of India to be wholly inconsistent with the teachings of the Prophet of Arabia.

It aimed at ridding Islam of all the rank growth which has become entwined with it. The Wahabi movement did not, however, strike deep root in India, and it was reserved for Sir Syed to expound and interpret Islam with all the weapons of modern criticism.

He rightly laid greater emphasis on the ethical teaching of Islam than on the dogmatic.

He brushed aside the cobwebs of dogma and superstition, and brought into prominence those maxims and teachings of the Prophet which will be received, accepted, and cherished to the end of time. There is no room for miracles and saint-worship in this exposition of Islam. Let it be remembered however that he has not opened a new path or advanced new doctrines in advocating the principles which are ascribed to him, but has only separated the immortal from the perishable parts of the teachings of the Prophet. He has merely gone back to the original Islam—Islam as taught by Muhammad. The tide of reform has set in, and we have only to mention the names of two workers to show that the Syed's spirit is still among us. One of these is unfortunately no more—I mean Moulvie Cherag Ali, of Hyderabad, Deccan; the other, who is still in the meridian of his glory and fame, is Mr. Amir Ali, of the Calcutta High Court.

Moulvie Cherag Ali's works on "Jihad" and "Reforms under the Muslim Rule" clearly point to the slow and silent changes which are at work in the Muslim community.

And, again, Mr. Amir Ali's "Spirit of Islam" will bring home to the reader that Islam is as full of counsels of perfection as any other religion, and the fall of the Muslims is largely due to the neglect of, and disobedience to, the precepts of Islam. The "History of the Saracens," by the same author, is a further contribution to Islamic literature. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not limit himself to a shorter period, for had he done so, the subject might have received a more thorough and exhaustive treatment. A complete and exhaustive history of Islam has yet to be written, and it will not be long, we earnestly hope, before we have a history of Islam written by a Muslim.

In no branch of study in India has the influence of the spirit of Western criticism evidenced itself so unmistakably as in the historical works which have lately appeared. Ibn Khaldun, many centuries ago, lamented the fact that history had degenerated into bare chronicle among the Muslims.

The complaint was a just one. With the exception of Ibn Khaldun and a very few others, the Muslim historians are mere chroniclers. It is indeed true that medieval historians, both Christian and Muslim, can be charged with the same fault, and that historical criticism is of very recent birth, but the point to notice is that the Muslim historians of later date fell far short of the high accuracy of their predecessors.

In Professor Shibli of Aligarh, we find once more a Muslim historian of rare gifts and high qualities. His essays and biographies are instinct with philosophic reflections, and display great erudition. They are written on modern principles, and, in fact, every page bears testimony to Western influence. But it is in his latest work—the biography of the Caliph Omar—that the Professor has reached the high-water mark of scholarship, as well as shown keen critical insight. In the introduction he lays down certain canons for testing the accuracy of historical statements—canons which may well be followed by other Oriental writers.

In the first place, he says we should look carefully at what the author has to say, making due allowances for his passions, prepossessions and prejudices, and if the statements appear simple, credible, and straightforward, we should next go into the question of his authorities for those statements. Unless and until, says the learned author, we are perfectly satisfied as to these two antecedent conditions, we should not accept the statements.

In dealing with "original authorities," these canons are of practical utility, and particularly so with Oriental histories, where we have many conflicting accounts of one and the same event. Professor Shibli has made use of these canons throughout his works, and has unquestionably struck a new vein in the historical literature of India, and perhaps the entire Eastern world.

His "Omar" is divided into two parts: the first deals with the conquests which were made during the caliphate of his hero, and the second (which is doubtless the most

important) deals with the internal reforms which were carried out under Omar. There we see unfolded the administration of the empire, the management of the finance, the judicial arrangements, and the military organization; in fine, Professor Shibli has dealt not only with the triumphs of the Muslims outside Arabia, but has also luminously dealt with their social and political life. This brief account of the book is given here in order to show that the Muslim community is progressing in all directions—social, religious, and intellectual.

Others have successfully imitated Shibli, and the monograph of Moulvie Abdur Razzak on the Barmecides deserves to be specially mentioned. The subject is very clearly and critically treated, and not only the battles, but also the social and literary phases of the then existing society, are graphically described. There are other workers, too, who have accomplished laudable works, but I confine myself to the typical examples.

To turn to the Urdu literature, a long line of splendid names adorn its history. Not to mention Mir, undoubtedly the father of Urdu literature, there are others—for instance, Ghalib, Zowk, Atish Dāg, Amir Minai, and Nazir Ahmed—who may also claim the honour of being the makers and moulders of Hindustani literature. The progress of the Urdu literature during the nineteenth century has been, not by steps, but by strides.

At this place it behoves me to mention Hāli, that singer of sweetest songs and that bard of the present age, who ranks next to Sir Syed among the benefactors of the Muslim community. His impassioned appeals to the Muslims, his sincere and genuine love for them, his magnificent descriptions of their past glories, and his equally realistic descriptions of their present degeneration and decadence, have all contributed most powerfully to bring home to the Musulmans of India the necessity of adapting themselves to changing circumstances and keeping abreast of the march of civilization.

Besides his poetical works, Hali has done substantial service to Urdu literature by calling into being what may be called "critical essays" in Hindustani. His essay on Urdu literature is perhaps the first critical account of that literature that has ever been published in Hindustani.

Moreover, as a biographer he is the equal of Shibli, and his life of S'adi, besides being written in an exquisite style, has thrown a flood of light on the life of the great Persian poet.

In the writing of Hindustani novels the nineteenth century has likewise witnessed great changes. Historical romances have come into existence, the way being opened by the celebrated Sharar. The old method that drew only a faint line between novels and fairy tales has fallen into disrepute, and all but died out. Alive as we are to the progress that has been made in history and literature, we must nevertheless deplore the fact that little or nothing has been done towards scientific studies. To expect any original scientific work in Hindustani would, indeed, be unreasonable, but what might have been done with advantage was the translation of scientific works into Hindustani. This, however, was neglected, but let us hope that ample compensation for it will be made in the new century. It must not be forgotten that education can penetrate the masses only through the medium of the vernacular. Therefore it is of capital importance that translations of both literary and scientific works should be made, and this can only be done satisfactorily by men who are not only equipped with the best modern training, but who are also willing to serve their community with all their strength and with all their heart.

That such men will be forthcoming to perform what is only their sacred duty, we have not the smallest fear or doubt. Through the vernacular alone can we diffuse knowledge among the people, for until the masses receive some sort of education, progress will be but slow and fitful.

It is difficult to speak with precision concerning the social reforms that have been effected during the nineteenth century. Looking, however, at the result, one can hardly assert that there has been any lack of social reform ; one which would strike the least observant is the foundation of schools for Muslim girls in India. This, indeed, is a great step, and a step in the right direction. Equally noticeable is the fact that even the orthodox party is not so hostile to the reception of European ideas or to the training of children on European principles as it was a very short time ago.

This in itself is an eloquent commentary on the tremendous changes that are passing through the Muslim community. Then, again, every well-wisher of the Muslim community notices with satisfaction the feeling of oneness and brotherhood springing up between the two most important sects, Shias and Sunnis, which divide the Muslim population between them. I doubt not that in the process of time this difference will entirely cease, and that the Muslim world will once more be ranged under the one banner of Islamic brotherhood. The Muslim community has already commenced to realize the necessity of united action, concerted measures, and mutual help and assistance.

Further, we observe that the Muslims are now beginning to pay heed to their forgotten duties : the care of the poor, of the sick, and of the orphans. Calcutta possesses a Muhammadan orphanage which is in a fairly flourishing condition, and so do the other important towns. But we earnestly hope that the number of such orphanages will multiply, and that the Muslims will give their serious attention to the wretched condition of their poor, which loudly calls for help.

Patna has taken the lead in founding an Oriental public library, which it owes to the munificence of the late Chief Justice of Hyderabad, Deccan. The existence of libraries is absolutely necessary for the progress of letters, and



therefore it is of supreme importance that every town should possess a library where the student may satisfy his thirst for knowledge. How many students in India are prevented from continuing their studies simply through the want of suitable books !

I must now bring my hasty sketch of the progress of the Musulman community to an end.

We have seen that a wave of reform has been rolling over the whole of the Muslim community, and, indeed, to whichever side we turn we find the distinctive mark of progress set upon it. In religion the efforts of Sir Syed have been successful in brushing the cobwebs of superstition aside ; in history Professor Shibli has struck a new note ; in poetry Hāli stands out as quite a unique type, bard and prophet in one ; and in the writing of novels Sharar has opened a new path for the Easterns.

Last, but not the least, Mr. Justice Amir Ali has given to the world the most clear, luminous, and authoritative exposition of the religion as well as the law of the Muhammadians. This slow and steady growth is due in no small measure to the peace and prosperity which we have enjoyed under the British rule. To prophesy about the future is a dangerous thing at best, but one thing is clear and certain ; that should peace continue unbroken and the amity and friendship between the Muslim sects be uninterrupted, better harvests will be gathered in and greater triumphs achieved before the new century comes to a close.

The necessity of co-operation, larger toleration, and larger sympathy has already dawned upon the Muslims, and with their newly-awakened consciences it is but natural that new visions should float before them and new ambitions should stir them to activity. Let us hope that the sun of Muslim learning will go on ascending till it reaches the meridian and illumines the world once again.

## THE PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF UGANDA.

BY HAROLD BINDLOSS.

ONCE more during the past year there has been trouble in Great Britain's somewhat turbulent new asset on the eastern side of equatorial Africa. In this respect, however, Uganda is by no means singular, for, as those who serve the nation in the steam of the sweltering tropics know, the extension of the Empire means before all things the undertaking of a heavy responsibility. Scorching heat, fever, sometimes brain-destroying loneliness, ambush, poison, and murder by mutineers, are all comprised by the term whose full significance cannot be grasped without personal experience. Still, the peace of Uganda has been much more seriously threatened than it was last year, notably in the late rebellion of the Sudanese soldiers, and also, strange as it may appear, by the somewhat eccentric native propagation of Christianity.

The Sudanese is apparently a born soldier, and this is not surprising, for although throughout the whole of Africa it has been made evident that the pure negro is by no means remarkable for personal valour, yet when infused with a strain of the Arab blood, and his almost animal-like indifference to consequences has been rendered logical by Eastern fatalism, the former slave straightway changes into a conqueror. This is, of course, an old story, and the Sudanese, who take kindly to drill, and followed faithfully enough when there was hard work before them, it is not improbable harboured a vain hope of carrying on the work of conquest on their own account. There were also still a number of Emin's men dwelling in small communities unattached, besides deserters from the Egyptian forces who had set up strongholds of their own, and the result of a combination might have proved serious. Prompt

measures, however, were taken, and the result was the complete restoration of British supremacy.

Religion has also played its part as a cause of unrest, and it is evident from chance admissions made by those concerned in the administration, and a certain most injudicious correspondence in which each party pointed out that the adherents of the other side were thieves and worse, that Moslem, Protestant, and Catholic not infrequently made use of carnal weapons to settle their differences, until it became necessary to isolate them in different districts. The one point which strikes a student of African customs as curious is, however, that the sable Christians could hold their own against the Mahommedans at all, for the tide of Islam has proved too strong to stem in other regions of the dark Continent. Still, though the Eastern coast is in closest contact with the older world, and the rulers of the Muscadines, whose authority was forced upon it, were theological bigots, the result of the Moslem teaching is very much less apparent than in the north and west, where it is now permeating our own colonies upon the Guinea coast. In many ways it is also a salutary influence.

So far as can be gathered, a certain predatory tribe, the Nandi, have long terrorized the district surrounding the eastern shores of the great Lake Victoria. Here in Kavirondo a range of jungle-clad hills falls steeply to the unhealthy littoral, and the Nandi, descending at intervals from their forest fastnesses, levied a heavy toll on such of their neighbours as possessed anything worth stealing, until the country became depopulated and the trade caravans made a wide detour to avoid them. Indeed, the original survey for the new railway from Mombasa (or Kilindini) wound round for this reason far to the north. Now, in view of some of the comments on the number of small native wars in which this country is periodically concerned, it may be stated that in Africa at least our representatives usually display even too long a patience with such offenders. The writer has seen a number at their somewhat danger-

ous work, and always found them long-suffering, conscientious men, with a strong dislike to unnecessary bloodshed. This he would mention merely because there are not wanting those who, dwelling safe at home, have compared them to iron-fisted swashbucklers.

So it was not until many caravans including Government expeditions, had been plundered, and the telegraph lines repeatedly torn down, that Colonel Evatt marched his Sudanese and Indian troops into the jungles, and, in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, reduced the Nandi to reason. Three years earlier another officer had attempted the arduous task, and met with a very vigorous resistance, until his troops were badly needed elsewhere, and the Nandi had perforce to be left alone. Such action is common throughout our African possessions, as well as on the Northern Indian frontier. It would probably tax the nation's strength to at once and simultaneously repress every robber chieftain secure among his hills, mutinous raiding tribe, and the fetish ruler of a river-pirate confederacy which delights in human sacrifice. Instead, warning after warning is sent, until when at last the offender sinks into an ungarded state of suppositious security, and the work can be done with as little loss as possible, the strong hand of the Government closes unexpectedly upon him. It is a regretted but incontrovertible fact that one cannot tame a primitive people by mere moral persuasion, unless it is done slowly through many generations, and having taken the black man's land, the Government must also accept the responsibility of protecting him from spoliation and massacre. Also in Uganda Great Britain would seem to have acted wisely in directing and controlling existing authorities, as is done with some of the native States in India, making use of the semi-feudal system of King, chiefs, and headmen where possible, with an official adviser pulling the wires behind them. Very much depends upon the discretion of the said officer, and his post is rarely an enviable one.

The history, and probably the future, of Uganda is bound up with that of the East Coast, and, as usual in Africa, the Arab was the first to regularly exploit it, though southwards ruined cities, roads, and mines show that an earlier and civilized people had been here before, perhaps in the time of Solomon. Some of the Arabs came southwards by the Nile, but the most part from Muscat, and there was trouble between them and the Portuguese, who in the time of their brief greatness had established themselves here and there along the coast. They built a fort at Mombasa in 1594. In places they, too, found cities with splendidly constructed mosques, and for a space the gold trade of Sofala was famous. To-day at Zanzibar and elsewhere one may find the massive forts they raised to control this new route to India, and at much the same time it seemed as if the sun was steadily rising on the Latin's greatness, Spain winning all the new Western world and Portugal vast dominions in the East. And yet it may be that this virility, now apparently gone for ever, sprang from that very East, for all the way from Sevilla and Cordova through Madeira and the Canaries to the Apache country and Mexico one can to-day trace the influence of the Moor. There are two styles of Iberian architecture both in the old world and the new—what the writer, for want of exact knowledge in such matters, would term the Gothic, and the more enduring, to be seen in every levada aqueduct and cool, flat-roofed hacienda as far as Peru, which is essentially of the East. Knowledge, apparently, is indestructible, and the men who first framed courses and keystones in that fashion may have dwelt in early Egypt or Babylon.

In any case, dominion in Africa was not for the Portuguese; for, harried in other quarters by freebooting Englishmen and Dutchmen with scanty respect for the Pope as a distributor of virgin territory, they failed utterly to hold their own against the Muscadine, and it was the Arab who first actually developed East African commerce—as usual, in two chief commodities, slaves and ivory—and

profited largely by it until the advent of the British. Also, as happened in Nigeria, we barely took hold in time to prevent a great absorption of territory by the Teuton. This naturally led to a consideration of the slavery question, because the extension of African commerce depends largely upon transport facilities. The greater the white trader's success, the more need there is for means of conveyance, and in Uganda, where mules, bullocks, and camels die off equally, and, indeed, throughout three-fourths of the Dark Continent, the slave carrier was until lately the only substitute. He proved, however, a costly substitute, for it requires a strong man to carry a burden of seventy pounds, and this weight had often to be severely cut down to allow for ten days' rations. Twenty-six rupees a load has been paid for portorage from the coast into Uganda, while a considerable proportion of the produce shipped every day from our colonies on the Guinea coast is carried down by slaves; therefore, if the authorities suppress slavery, they must either abandon all commerce or replace it by railroads.

Except where the land rises into lofty escarpments and mighty peaks 18,000 feet in height, Uganda is to a great extent grass-covered, and the grass is of an average length of 10 to 15 feet. It is also intersected by many rivers, and each river is solidly filled with reeds, which grow like a wall higher than the grass. Neither is it necessary to demonstrate how this hampers communication and transport. The new railway was therefore an absolute necessity if we were either to govern or develop the land, which possesses one vast source of wealth in an apparently inexhaustible supply of rubber. The demand for high-class rubber is increasing almost faster than it can be dealt with. If only by laying the steel road, we have justified our presence in Uganda, for now the products of Manchester and Birmingham roll swiftly in, while ivory, and the wealth of the tropics, comes down in safety out of a region from which a very few years ago the slave Ulendo, leaving the



fallen often enough littered along the way, wound seawards for weeks together, running the gauntlet of the Masai and Angoni spearman.

This recalls the fact that even the indomitable Arab seldom penetrated far into the land of the Bantu. If those of earlier days possessed the same characteristics as their descendants, it is comprehensible; for the Bantu, who differ in many ways from the negroes, possess the powers of combination, and the great Chaka proved that they could be fashioned into perfectly disciplined spearmen. It was sufficiently difficult with machine guns and modern rifles to hold in check the offshoots of the Zulu race, who under different names, including the Matabele and Angoni, pushed their conquests northwards to the fringe of Uganda. The pure negro is absolutely incapable of such successes, and while there have been famous sable soldiers, notably in the Congo basin and the north, such as Rabah and Samori, the men who followed them were Moslem, whose nature had been stiffened by admixture with the Arab strain.

Taking it for granted that the construction of the railway was wisely ordered, it is a pity that in these days, when there is little Free Trade anywhere except in England, and almost every other nation does its best by hostile tariffs to shut our products out, a very large order for bridge-work should have been given to American manufacturers. The time when a famous United States Tariff Bill reduced the output of many of our forges and rolling mills, and led to the discharge of endless workmen, is still fresh in the memory of those who suffered by it, and they will doubtless make their own comments upon the fact. Still, while the British tenders for the thirty iron and steel viaducts ranged from £13 to £18 per ton, free on board, the American Bridge Company booked the order at £10 6s., free on board any British port, or £18 erected, which latter only one English maker cared to undertake, and his price was higher. Doubtless the authorities considered they would not be justified in paying considerably more for the

advantages of British workmanship, which would also have necessitated a delay in delivery.

Again, the Oriental threatens a wholesale invasion of Uganda and Eastern Africa, but this time he comes for the most part peacefully. Indian troops have assisted loyally in the maintenance of order, and also in campaigns to the northward against the Somali, and many of the new railroad stations are managed by Hindus, while the Indian coolie played a leading part in the building of the line. Even as a trader the Arab is rapidly losing his supremacy ; for the dusky merchants from Bombay have a better knowledge of modern methods, and do not need teaching that where railroads and cargo steamers run instead of the slave-train and dhow, one must abandon customs handed down from the days of Abraham. Already Zanzibar and Mombasa are crowded with shrewd, and enterprising traders from Hindustan, but unfortunately they have brought the curse of their own country with them, in the person of the petty usurer, and it is probable the latter alone will, if given time, bring down in ruin many of the Moslem sea-board traders. This is in one way a pity, for even the darkest African Arab is in a great measure a gentleman as well as a valiant soldier—at least, that is the writer's impression after glimpses of him in a number of colonies. Still, in spite of personal courage and barbaric pride, the race, or individual, which cannot keep pace with civilization must go under now, and it is curious that the modernized scions of two very old races are at present proving for this reason not only their rights to existence, but a capacity for enriching themselves in other lands. Keen-witted, resourceful, and not always over-scrupulous, the small Hindoo trader will probably play the same part in Eastern Africa, from Cape Town to Mombasa, that the Chinaman does already in the land of the Malay. After some experience of his methods, both in the tropics and in the Far West, the writer has a certain respect for the Chinaman. He always found him tireless, far-seeing, and, like the ant,

indefatigable. If one man had taken a contract that proved too big for him, more sprang up from a mysterious somewhere to help him, and when payment time arrived the work was always done. Perhaps some day the same thing will happen in China that took place in Japan, and then the rest of the world will meet with a shock of astonishment.

We are spending money freely in Uganda over such matters as railroads, augmented armed police, and steamers on the lake—the *William Mackinnon*, nearly the size of a British coaster, is running already—and the revenue is increasing (it was £40,000 last year). Still, the country will probably take a long time to pay its own expenses, which, according to the doctrine of a section at home, is distinctly deplorable. There is probably a hidden reason in the teaching that the British should confine themselves to lesser Britain, because a few leading thinkers have professed to believe it, but as one of those who has been forced to ramble over a considerable portion of the globe in search of a sustenance, the writer was forcibly impressed with the fact that we can neither feed, nor find employment of any kind for a large percentage of our population in these two small islands. Therefore it seems plain that for mere self-preservation we must seek fresh outlets for our energies, while every new line of steamers and importation of tropical produce means further food and wages for the stay-at-home. Our West African colonies support a small host of spinners and small hardware makers; those in the East will doubtless do the same; and if the nation spends its few thousands every year, all will indirectly be paid back to it. No piece of cloth for export is spun without paying its proportion of wages to many British hands.

It is, however, probable that it is chiefly in this direction we shall have to look to recoup ourselves for our sacrifices in Uganda. That is, of course, the practical, if somewhat sordid, aspect; but in spite of occasional blunders and some small incidental cruelty, this country has only once or

twice refused to efficiently discharge the moral obligations the advancement of the Empire thrust upon it. Uganda will, from appearances, never be open to white colonization ; that is to say, Englishmen will not multiply and thrive therein as they do, in Canada or Australia for instance, except possibly in one district—the Singo Highlands. Instead, a comparatively small percentage will live, much as they do on the West Coast and in parts of India, travelling in hammocks, avoiding physical exertion and the open rays of the sun. As the Anglo-Indian knows, white men's children born under the equator sicken and die unless they can be sent back to England, and the tropics are considerably more trying to Englishwomen than to their husbands. There is, of course, malarial fever—the lake shore and the Nile Valley seem especially bad ; insect pests, including the ubiquitous jigger, are innumerable ; and the latter, which is slowly invading the whole of Africa from the West Coast, and breeds and feeds in the human foot, often increases the transport difficulty by laming the carriers. Also because it lies under the equator, the sun passes across it twice each year—in June and December—and, as perhaps the insular Briton does not know, even when there is absolutely no miasma, fever, and sometimes death from weakness, follows exposure to the exhausting rays of the equatorial sun. In Southern Spain they say that only fools (or dogs) and Englishmen walk in the sun. Still, its climate would apparently compare very favourably with the Guinea littoral or West Indies, and we have built up a great trade with the former, while the latter may presently see better days again. Every steamer that leaves a British port with British merchandise confers a benefit on the nation, and in the opening up of Uganda and other quarters of the once mysterious continent we are not only sowing for our own future benefit, but possibly weaving a world-wide net of brotherhood which will some day bind the nations of many colours into the long - expected commonwealth of man.

## THE TROUBLES OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

BY G. B. BARTON, SYDNEY, N.S.W.

THE Commonwealth of Australia has been inaugurated in Sydney with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance that can be brought to bear on the occasion. The Earl of Hopetoun, first of a long line of Governors-General, was welcomed on his official landing on the shores of Port Jackson by hundreds of thousands of people gathered together from all parts of this Continent, and from many other corners of the British dominions. For some time prior to the event the mighty task of devising the most appropriate forms, functions, and ceremonies, without regard to expense, had absorbed the energies of the Government of New South Wales, aided by a Parliamentary and a citizens' committee, with numerous sectional sub-committees, to say nothing of a host of newspaper correspondents brim-full of the silliest possible suggestions for their consideration. With all this brain-power devoted to the simple object of constructing a gorgeous pageant, beautifying the city of Sydney, and providing a round of entertainments during the first week of the year, it would have been strange indeed if the spectacle then presented did not rival a Venetian carnival.

One of the most attractive features in the programme will be contributed by the Imperial Government. The Duke of York will visit Australia for the special purpose of opening the first session of the Federal Parliament, and a select body of troops, to the number of 1,000, chosen from the finest regiments in the army, and representing every branch of the service, will form His Royal Highness's guard of honour. These troops formed part of the procession through the streets of Sydney on the day of the Earl's official landing; and they were joined on the march by representative troops from all the federated colonies, from New Zealand,

and also from Canada, including those who have served with so much distinction in South Africa. The Royal Navy will also be well represented. In addition to the ships of war forming the Australian fleet, and the auxiliary squadron, there will be first-class cruisers and battleships.

Theatrical displays have an irresistible charm for the multitude, of course, and the multitude will be enthusiastically pleased. But it is not a cheerful reflection for the student of politics that all this concentration of thought, power, and purpose, to say nothing of the money, should be devoted to the single object of amusing a vast crowd of sightseers. If only a tithe of it were employed on the solution of the many political problems which lie in wait for the statesmen of the Federation, there might be something to show for it in the end. The three primary questions—the Federal tariff, the Federal capital, and the Federal finance—are complicated enough to defy all the ingenuity that can be brought to bear on them. As soon as the various amusements have run out and the crowds have scattered to their homes, the serious business of the Commonwealth will have to be taken in hand. When the writs have been prepared and issued for the first elections, the people will be overwhelmed with a series of political discussions, involving bitter party issues, for which no previous experience will have prepared them. At the present time, for instance, I anticipate that one of the most commonplace topics of Australian politics is the degeneracy of the Parliaments and the general incapacity for sound and prudent administration shown by successive Ministers. After nearly half a century of responsible government, it is a dismal fact that it has proved an unmistakable failure, disappointing all the hopes that were formed of it by its founders, and entailing upon the people an enormous load of public debt, with a corresponding burden of taxation.

There is evidence enough and to spare to show that these statements are not unfounded generalizations. During a general election which has just been concluded in Victoria



a Melbourne daily journal of great note as the organ of Victorian democracy published a series of "Papers for the People," in which it reviewed the political situation of the time. It began with an uncompromising exposure of parliamentary degeneracy, which it attributed largely to the corrupting influence exercised by payment of members. This system, by the way, was introduced in Victoria mainly through the strenuous advocacy of the journal referred to as one of the most cherished planks of the democratic platform. The result is seen in the degraded condition of the average member. He is described as nothing better than a greedy professional politician, seeking every means of increasing his salary by the fees and allowances paid to members of Boards and Royal Commissions, appointed at his instance by subservient Ministers. His greed for office is not less remarkable than his lust for gain. There is such a dead level of mediocrity among the members that one man considers himself quite as capable as another, and everyone asserts his claim to a portfolio with absolute confidence in his own merits. The manner in which they attend to their legislative duties corresponds exactly with the standard of parliamentary morality they have set up. Most of them never take any pains to inform themselves on the subjects before the House. For half the time it is in session there is barely a quorum in attendance, and when the division bell rings they come trooping in from the billiard-room, the refreshment bar, the hotel across the street, the ante-rooms, or other haunts to which they retire in order to escape a debate. The only business to which they pay any serious attention is the town agency of their country constituents, which includes all sorts of commissions and odd jobs, from interviewing a Minister down to the most ordinary transaction.

Out of such materials as these it is impossible to suppose that capable and energetic administrators of public affairs can be found. The Government is of much the same mould and character as the Parliament from which it is evolved.

One of its distinguishing features is its anxiety to shirk its proper responsibility on every matter of importance by appointing a Select Committee, a Board, or a Royal Commission to deal with it. At least thirty instances of this kind have occurred within the last year or two, comprising all kinds of inquiries, from Law Reform, Old Age Pensions, and State Banks, to complaints of personal grievances and petitions for redress. Some of these questions are manifestly such as to require considerable technical knowledge; but that makes no difference, they are handed over as a matter of course to men who do not even pretend to have any knowledge of the kind. The most flagrant case in point is that of the Railway Standing Committee, to which Parliament has entrusted the business of reporting upon all proposals for the construction of new lines, and also of public works generally—say a question of water supply. The members who compose this body know nothing of railway or civil engineering; there are no experts among them, although they are allowed fees at the rate of £1 1s. for each sitting, and £1 11s. 6d. for the chairman. A similar body in New South Wales, by the way, is paid at the rate of £2 2s. for each sitting, and £3 3s. for the chairman; and sittings are adjourned from day to day so often that the fees paid amount to a substantial salary.

This line of criticism was applied to the chief departments of the public service, and with similar results. Incapable administration and wasteful expenditure were found to be their common characteristics, while the theory of parliamentary responsibility was proved to be a sheer delusion. It is not too much to say that these strictures might have been directed at the state of affairs in New South Wales with equal point and accuracy. In that colony, or State, as we may say now, the same degeneracy has shown itself in its Parliament. Its members can hardly claim to stand on a higher level than their neighbours, and the administration of affairs is open to the same censure. The Parliaments of the other States may have a better record to show;

but whether they have or not, the question arises, What is the prospect before us with respect to a Federal Parliament?

Every country, it is said, is governed as well as it deserves to be; and since the same electors who have deliberately returned these corrupt and time-serving politicians to represent them will choose the members of the Federal Parliament, is it to be supposed that they will return men of a higher class to represent them in its two Houses? There is no difference in the franchise, and there are no conditions to be met by candidates other than those existing under the present system. There is nothing to show that candidates at the Federal elections will be materially different, in point of character and capacity, from those who have so often hoodwinked the provincial electors. Laws have been proposed, and will probably be passed, to prohibit dual representation, so that no one will be allowed to hold seats in the Federal and provincial Parliaments at the same time. There are indications, too, that the few able and experienced men in the latter will sever their connection with them in order to confine their attention to Federal politics and posts of honour. That, of course, would mean the perpetuation of provincial degeneracy.

The one thing needed in order to realize the dreams of Federal enthusiasts is a complete revolution in the character of Australian politics and politicians, and without that there seems very little prospect of the new order of things being much better than the old. The appearance of a higher order of candidates than those we have been so long accustomed to would certainly give confidence in the future of the Federation; but up to the present time there is no reason to suppose that the type of representative so much needed is likely to be seen in practice. There is a special reason for a thorough change in the character of our representatives, and a remodelling of our legislative methods. For nearly ten years past each of these Parliaments has been dominated by a small section of its members, known as the

Labour Party, mostly men of the working class, elected for the sole purpose of advocating and enforcing their class interests. This purpose they have succeeded in effecting to their hearts' desire. Forming a third party in the House, and acting independently, they have held the balance of power in their hands, and have given their support to Ministers on the single condition that their policy is embodied in the Ministerial programme. Each Ministry in its turn depends for its very existence on the votes of this section. However powerful or popular a Premier may be in the country, his position is no better than that of Faust with Mephistopheles at his elbow.

This condition of affairs is inexpressibly degrading to Parliament and Government alike, since both are deprived of their independence. While it is undoubtedly right that the working classes should be represented in the Legislature, it is not right that they should be in a position, simply through the weakness of party government, to exercise a controlling influence of this character over the legislation of the country. They insist on "majority rule" as their basic principle; but, tested by it, they form but one-sixth of the total number of electors in New South Wales, and probably not more in the other colonies. The largest number of representatives they have been able to return is twenty-two in a House of 125 members. Under normal conditions their votes would be of no great account, but when it happens, as it generally does, that the rest of the House is about equally divided, they hold the key of the situation, and make or unmake Ministries at their pleasure.

And yet, despite the obvious dangers arising from the tyranny of a class, the other sections of the community—representing as they do the various producing and commercial interests, and consequently the stability and prosperity of the country—cannot shake off the apathy with which they have regarded the situation from the first. Conscious as they must be of their own political strength

if they should choose to exert it, they prefer to remain inactive, and to leave their representation in the hands of the professional politicians who have consistently betrayed them. It needs only a glance at the course of recent legislation to see the necessity for immediate action, in order to avert the disasters with which the country is threatened. At the dictation of the Labour Party the electoral laws have been re-cast, in order to strip property-holders of their plural votes and establish the principle of One Man, One Vote; the colony has been divided into single electorates, in order to facilitate the return of democratic candidates; and now the suffrage is about to be conferred on women, as it has been in South Australia and Western Australia, without anything to show that the great majority of them desire to have it. In the same manner the system of taxation has been altered, in order to shift the burden as much as possible from the poor to the rich. Customs' duties, never felt to be oppressive, have been removed, and their place supplied by land and income taxes, the latter undoubtedly inquisitorial and obnoxious to all whose incomes exceed £200 a year. At the same behest the laws regulating the relations of employer and employed have been revised entirely in the interest of the latter. The climax has now been reached in an Arbitration Bill, which proposes to set up a court with power to enforce its awards against employers, virtually placing them at the mercy of the trade unions, whose liability in case of defeat is said to be mythical. Not the least of these triumphs has been achieved by simple thumb-pressure on Ministers. A minimum rate of seven shillings a day has been fixed as the amount of wages to be paid to labourers on all contracts for the public service, one result of which is that employers in the country districts find it increasingly difficult to obtain labour.

There cannot be any cause for wonder, in the face of such facts as these, that the leaders of this omnipotent party should openly boast of their successes, and proclaim

their intention to repeat in the Federal Parliament the tactics which have won such victories in the States. They have already opened their campaign in New South Wales, where they confidently expect to secure five or six seats in the House of Representatives, which will number seventy-six. Supposing that an equal proportion of seats should be obtained in the other States, their combined strength would certainly place them in a position to hold the fate of every Federal Government in their hands. Their programme would include, in addition to more class legislation, several amendments in the Federal Constitution for the purpose of enabling them to make what alteration they pleased in it by the votes of a simple majority on a Referendum. The spirit in which they have entered on the campaign may be seen in the words of one of their members, in a speech delivered at a recent meeting of the Political Labour League. He declared that "the working classes during the past five years had shown the country that they were masters of the situation. Prime Ministers had been taught that their lease of power would only last with their fidelity in regard to the demands of the workers. They had revolutionized the politics of the country. Some of the enthusiastic advocates of the Federation Bill believed that they were going to abolish the Labour Party, and it was the desire of that party to defeat that object, and break down beyond restoration the old régime which reigned a few years ago."

A striking instance of the power exercised by this section was seen towards the end of last year, when five out of the six Australian Governments were displaced by their votes. Their defeat was attributed to the anti-democratic action of the Premiers during the two Referendum campaigns on the Federation Bill, the second of which took place in the previous June. On both occasions there had been a violent contest between the Democratic and Conservative forces, in which the former suffered a severe defeat, chiefly through the influence of the Premiers. This was especially the case



in New South Wales, which formed the battlefield of Australian democracy. The Premier of the time (Mr. Reid) was the first to go under, and the votes which destroyed his Government were those of the Labour Party, to whom he owed his five years of office and his Jubilee honours. The votes were given on a question which had nothing to do with federation ; but it served the purpose of the Democrats just as well—indeed, much better—because it deprived their unexpected hostility of any appearance of revenge.

To understand their action, it is necessary to recollect that all through the sittings of the Convention he acted as the advocate of their principles, notably in connection with the provisions of the Bill for securing "majority rule" in disputes between the two Houses, and also on a Referendum on any proposed amendment of the Constitution. On the former question the Convention agreed, mainly at his instance, to a clause for the prevention of deadlocks. It provided that, in the event of a Bill being rejected by the Senate a second time, after an interval of three months, that body, although elected for six years on the rotation principle, might be dissolved at the same time as the House, elected for three ; and, further, that after their re-election a joint sitting should take place if they again disagreed, at which the question should be decided by a three-fifths majority.

This proposal, however, proved to be utterly distasteful to the Democrats, who insisted that a three-fifths majority would mean the defeat of the House on every division, and consequently of majority rule. To prevent such a disaster, they demanded the substitution of a simple majority, and carried their point in the New South Wales Assembly when the question of amendments in the Bill was under discussion. At a conference of the Premiers held in Melbourne, in January, 1899, at Mr. Reid's instance, to consider this and other amendments, he endeavoured to get a simple majority in place of a three-fifths one. The other Premiers, however, substituted an absolute majority of both Houses, and the Bill was finally so amended.

So far from pacifying his imperious supporters, this last amendment served only to inflame their discontent. The hubbub grew louder and louder. "Majority rule is in danger," they cried, and as the day fixed for the final Referendum approached, every Democrat in town and country was adjured to vote against the Bill. At their instance a public holiday was proclaimed, and electors' rights were issued to all who applied for them, whether their names were on the rolls or not, in order that "the manhood of the country" might decide the event.

Although it might seem obvious enough that the deadlock provisions, even with a three-fifths majority, placed the Senate at the mercy of the House, the Democrats contended that the House would be defeated whenever a trial of strength should take place between the two. They worked out the sum in this fashion. Supposing that there should be six colonies in the federation—as there are—the number of members allotted to each would be as follows :

	House of Representatives.				Senate.
New South Wales ...	...	26	.....		6
Victoria ...	...	23	.....		6
Queensland ...	...	10	.....		6
South Australia ...	...	7	.....		6
West Australia ...	...	5	.....		6
Tasmania ...	...	5	.....		6
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		76			36
Total ...	...	...	...	112	

A three-fifths majority of 112 being sixty-eight, it follows that the sixty-one members representing the two largest colonies, with a united population of over 2,500,000, would be defeated by the fifty-one members representing the four smaller, with a joint population of, say, 1,200,000. They would be seven votes short on a division. On the other hand, although it is not less clear that, with an absolute majority in place of a three-fifths one, the sixty-one members would have a majority of ten over their fifty-one opponents, they assumed that the representatives of the

larger States would always be caught napping by those of the smaller.

The main source of their dissatisfaction lay in the principle of equal State representation in the Senate, undoubtedly one of the radical defects in the Constitution. The stock arguments in its favour as a basis of union made no impression on them. They were not reconciled to it by the fact that the State of Nevada, with 45,000 people, has equal voting power in the Senate of the United States with that of New York, notwithstanding its 6,000,000 inhabitants. Majority rule is their basic principle, and without absolute safeguards for it, they would view with suspicion any constitution, however liberal it might be in other respects. The fact that the island of Tasmania, with a population of 170,000, is to enjoy the same voting strength in the Senate as New South Wales with 1,450,000, amounts, they say, to giving one man in the former eight times the voting power of one in the latter.

The result of the polling at the last Referendum proved a still bitterer pill for them. Notwithstanding their vigorous and well-organized efforts to defeat the Bill, it had a majority of 25,000 in New South Wales, and that majority might have been more than doubled had it not been for the opposition of a strong Conservative section, who objected to the financial clauses of the measure. The Labour Party was utterly routed. The defeat was hard to endure, but it might have been endured with some patience had it not been attributable so largely to the double-dealing of their once-trusted leader. To grasp the prize of the Federal Premiership, he threw all his democratic professions to the winds, and appeared on the platform as the eloquent and earnest champion of a measure which they regard as undermining the first principles of democracy.

The sore humiliation from which they suffered in the defection of their too versatile chief was not the only unpleasant experience they had to put up with. They were equally deceived and disappointed in the working of

the Referendum. Looking upon it as an infallible weapon of offence, they saw it easily turned against them, and used with deadly effect against their own ranks. When it came to a trial of strength between them and the rest of the population, they proved to be in a hopeless minority. It was not in human nature that disappointments of this kind should be tamely endured, still less forgotten, by fighting politicians, and it speaks well for their organization and tactical skill that they should have been able, in the face of such crushing defeats, to possess their souls in patience until the whirligig of time brought in his revenges. Now it remains to be seen whether the Federal Parliament and Government are destined to pass under their control, and with them the Constitution itself.

## THE BIBLE, THE AVESTA, AND THE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

THERE are times, I suppose, when all of us become suddenly more pungently impressed than is usual with us by striking features in our special study, particularly if that study be a wide one. And I confess that I, for one, have lately experienced an increased acute consciousness of the significance of certain items in my own branch of comparative philology and religion.

Who was it who noticed the dead calm into which the stirred convictions soon resettled after the well-known article of the late Dr. Deutsch in the *Quarterly Review* (though I must apologize for recalling an event of no very great importance, and so long time past)?\*

That essay made him, it was said, the "lion" of a London season (whatever that distinction may be supposed to be). There was a flutter of interest, both hostile and sympathetic, but, as it was said, it soon all quietly died away. He had said, among other things, that Judaism had been influenced from several external sources, "notably by Zoroastrianism." Almost everybody acquiesced. A few objected, but not one of the lot cared anything about the matter a few weeks after the remarks had been made.

Nevertheless, the point was one of no inconsiderable magnitude (as one need hardly say). Only it had been so long suspected or familiar that it could not produce any very deep effect. The critics had long heard of it. It had been most prominently brought forward in Matter's book on the Gnostic philosophy which had been published long before,† and had received no little support from being crowned by the French Academy. And, surely, to the

\* See October, 1867.

† Before Deutsch's essay.

readers of this journal it can never be a matter of indifference.

I brought it forward again in 1892, and more especially in 1894 in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, and received some inquiries from Germany somewhat later as to particulars.

Quite lately also I have had occasion especially to busy myself with it for my esteemed friends the trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay. They desired me some little time ago to write an extended essay on the entire subject of the antiquity of the Avesta, and they expected me, of course, to work up again the points of my old article named above; for they had published it on its appearance in a large edition as translated into Gujrati, with my consent and with that of the editor. I have been doing what they wished in the midst of some few of my other engagements. But I confess that I am a little mortified to think how dull and uninspired even my own former appreciation of the points had been. There was a connection between Zoroastrianism and the Bible, it was said; it was acknowledged, and that was all. And I, among the others, allowed it to rest unmoved, though not forgotten in my mind. Yet what a thrilling theme of interest it is, or ought to be!

A distinguished friend and colleague had previously brought it into light in his work on the "Origin of the Psalter" (1891),\* and in an essay in answer to Mr. Gladstone in the December of 1892† (after some close and repeated conference with me).

What an illustration for the exilic and post-exilic scriptures it affords, and how willing all the advanced clergy ought to be to take it up!

It is not my purpose at this moment to go over the same ground which I traversed in 1894. Those who take sufficient interest in the matter can easily find my old essay in

\* See pp. xxxii, 213, 217, etc.

† See the *Nineteenth Century Review* for December, 1892.



the back volume of the Review. But what I wish (most earnestly) to effect is to bring into strong focus the rays which issue from these inscriptions of Darius and the rest, and which most forcibly urge upon us their very marked Zend characteristics, as well as their Bible tone.

Not only have we the signal name Auramazda in the Inscriptions, to the significance of which we have got used ; nor have we only the reiterated expressions of the same devout spirit which is universal in the Yasna ; but what I wish especially here to note is that we have the very idiosyncrasies of the Avesta in the words. We have the naming of the *draogha* as *drauga*, which, as I hope elsewhere to prove, included that great evil spirit, the Druj Angra Mainyu, whom we all thought to be forgotten among the inscriptions upon the stones ; and we have also such items as the use of *aura* (*ahura*) in the allusion to inferior deities common to both Gātha and Inscription.\* We have also the names of Mithra and Anahita on the tablets, and they seem to have stepped bodily out of the Avesta ; but we have, besides this, the very Zend idiom of the language. Where in all the Veda do you find *yāna* in the sense of "boon" ? In one place in the Indian it even means a "waggon." But it is one of the most avestic of all the terms, and it is used precisely in its Avesta sense on the Inscriptions. If it be Avesta dialect, then it is Inscription dialect as well. I do not wish to pause too long on even such an interesting matter as the use of the pronouns *ava* and *di*, the first scarcely surviving at all in the Veda, and the last unknown to it. But I confess I am as thoroughly startled as ever I was to see again the Avesta word *jaidhyeimi*—meaning "I pray"—used clearly, and that as pure Inscription.† Here is a very important verb common to the Avesta and the Inscription, but utterly unknown to the Veda in any sense. It brings Avesta and Inscription very close together.

All these are only leading points. The Zend scholar

\* Some refer it to Ahura (see Weissbach).

† Jadiyāmiy.

cannot take up his Inscriptions without feeling that he is on most familiar ground, and that Inscription is nothing, in fact, but "broken" Zend.

I did not enlarge upon the overwhelming burden of personal religious sentiment (see above) which the Inscriptions express, like the Gāthas, at every line, nor need I do so here. "Then I prayed unto Auramazda; Auramazda brought me aid; by the gracious will of Auramazda I did" (so-and-so). This will suffice to give an idea, and it is repeated abundantly.

No thoughtful person at all interested in religion in general can begin to pass his eye over these clumsy but significant lines without becoming engaged, not to say affected, by their pious tone.

My chief object, however, at this moment is one which can be sufficiently reached by a rapid glance at each of these weighty details. It is the all-important point of the *connection*, and for this reason I hurry on.

Shall we, considering the age of the Inscriptions and the circumstances which surround their originators, pause here to criticise their egotism: "A great god is Auramazda; Auramazda made me king; I am Darius, the great king," etc., and this reiterated? Who cannot see that the man's consecutive days were one long struggle with his subjects, and to defend his very throne? The people that interfered with him were not the major or the minor politicians of the day, national or international, nor anything of the sort; they were individual great nations, rebelling singly, or two or more of them at once.

The march of the heavy but pregnant sentences recording these colossal conflicts, with their monumental dates, is grand indeed.

Shall we say that he (Darius) was a "liar," as he could hardly have been quite accurate in his truly formidable reports? People who are unintermittingly at war, and even less shaken than Darius was, unfortunately do not always stop at stratagems (*ad majorem dei gloriam*). Shall

we say that he was superstitious because he politely took up the "clan (?) gods" of his lesser subjects? or that he was a sceptic because, like Moses, he looked for and promised rewards in this present world? Shall we wonder why he did not name the "angels" in his short inscriptions, if he felt so much the touch of the Avesta (as if *we* named *our* archangels in such places, or as if we could—the most of us—even repeat their names off-hand at all)? Or shall we deny his close relationship to Avesta sorrows, because, while noting in imprecating tones the chief work of the Avesta devil\* (using also the identical denominative Zend word),† his workmen did not hew out of the mountain's side the devil's very name? No, the Inscriptions are all Avesta in their spirit, or, better, they are all the Yasna or the Gātha.

"A great God is Auramazda who made this earth and yon heaven, who made man." Surely we recognise here Avesta on the one hand and Bible on the other. Read the Inscriptions, and then read Chronicles, Ezra, and Isaiah, ending with passages from Yasna xix. and from the Gāthas,‡ and we shall soon see where Darius, as well as Cyrus, got his inspiration. Surely the enlightened clergy are particularly included within our audience here. Assuming that the recorded Biblical edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, not to speak of Xerxes (Ahasuerus), are critically approved, no priest of the Church, or minister of a congregation, ought to leave the Inscriptions of the same monarchs without the closest study; but if he studies these he must also look up the Avesta lore as well. And if every parish clergyman should read his Inscriptions and his Avesta (not to speak of his R̥ig Veda) in some popular form, surely every biblical critic who pretends to thoroughness ought to be familiar with them, not only because their authors kept up the succession of Cyrus, but for their own

\* Adurujiya, Bh. I. 39, etc., "he lied."

† Druzhaiti.

‡ I hope to publish an elaborate essay before long, working up all these allusions.

sakes as Bible men. Least of all should we forget the great stake which old Church history has here in this connection. If the edicts of the Persian Cyrus in Ezra are believed to be genuine, as I have supposed (see also the allusions of Isaiah), and if they are, in corroboration, seen to be so closely kindred to the Inscriptions, which were cut by order of the same identical persons who are declared to have been their authors and the authors of the edicts; or if they were the subjects of the prophetic recognition in other forms than edicts; and if, on the other hand, the former, the Inscriptions, were written in a tongue which seemed almost Avesta, and expressed also a devotional sentiment which is exactly in the spirit of the Yasna and the Gāthas, naming the same supreme deity, Auramazda, together with other names and words quite common to both Inscription and Avesta, we have it actually proved, as it seems to me, that the spirit of the Avesta is in the Bible. Things that are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.

As every reader who is at all attentive may easily surmise, the captive Jews must have noticed some kind of Inscriptions to a somewhat similar effect in numbers; for scores of such Inscriptions beyond a doubt were placed in more accessible, and so exposed, positions, than high up on a mountain-side, or in palaces; and after meeting the eyes of wayfarers for centuries, at last they perished.\*

That the keen-witted Jews (at the waters of Babylon) did not fail to ask what they meant, we may consider to be certain. Their own near reproductions of them in the places cited make this most plain. For these latter the edicts of Ezra and the rest show what hardly needed proof, which is that the leading Jews had got some inkling of what they—the Inscriptions preserved at Behistun—were, or others like them. And if they were familiar with such-like fulminations, they were *ipso facto* really reached by some shattered portions of Avesta lore itself, direct or

\* Destroyed, of course, by succeeding dynasties, or during war.

indirect. Here, then, is the connection of Avesta and the Bible. I do not, of course, assert that they, the Jews, or, indeed, the West Persians, were familiar with all, or nearly all, of the detail of the Avesta as we have it, but that they must have known a great deal more about the religion of the Inscriptions than the Inscriptions themselves contain seems evident.

*How extremely probable it is that the more thoughtful of the Jews were as much interested in the religion of their restorers on the one side as those restorers were interested in theirs, the religion of the Jews, on the other.*

And as to the argument *a posteriori*, see the places cited (if we could simply open our minds to their most extraordinary terms).\*

And if these things be facts, how can we fail to recognise the genesis of the strongly Persian cast which distinguishes the exilic and post-exilic scriptures, with their before unheard-of resurrection, their new immortality, their forensic judgment, and their heaven and their hell, all strongly-marked Avesta doctrines. Who, then, that studies and believes the Bible can be indifferent to the faith of these fellow-worshippers, who were, and are, so near akin?

I do not see why we should confine our recognition to an "underground" connection between the old Persian, the Avesta, and the exilic Bible books.

I am inclined to believe the matter to be in so far settled. And if so, why not take a longer look at these so profoundly interesting lores? I have personally, and for one, done what little I could do to bring them nearer to us all.

As the first part of my larger book, with all the texts and translations, is sold out, or nearly so, I have published the curtailed new edition, only of the Gāthic texts in metre and verbatim. I hope it will be useful, and that a sympathetic public will enable me to recoup the heavy outlay.†

\* Cf. Ezra, etc., and Isaiah with his "Cyrus as the anointed of the Lord."

† To be had of Brockhaus, or at our Clarendon Press Department.

## AN AFGHAN LEGEND.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

IN the India Office Library there are two Oriental manuscripts, which are numbered 581 and 582 in Dr. Ethé's new catalogue. Both are entitled "Tawārīkh Rahmat Khanī," and their contents seem to be nearly identical. But No. 581\* is in Pushtoo, though it has a Persian preface and is interspersed with Persian sentences; whereas the other is written in Persian throughout. And though the contents of both manuscripts are very similar, they are—or profess to be—by different authors, No. 581 being by Pir Muazzam Shāh, and No. 582 by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Sādiq. Both these men were in the service of the famous and unfortunate Rohilla chief, Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat Khan, and they wrote their accounts at his directions. Both drew their material from an older work written by one Khwaja in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and this may account for their contents being nearly identical. Apparently one of them rewrote the old chronicle in Pushtoo, and the other put it into Persian. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Sādiq, the writer of No. 582, tells us that he was a native of Naltopa (?), near Attock, but that on entering Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat's service he settled at Bili Bihisht (?), near Bareilly. Dr. Ethé states that the work was written in 1184 A.H., or 1770-71; but it must have been added to at a later period, for at p. 156, 1201 A.H. (1787) is spoken of as the time of writing.

Both manuscripts are mainly occupied with an account of the Yusufzai tribe. No 582 begins by telling how very powerful the tribe was in Afghanistan, and how their chief, Malik Shah Sulaiman, cherished Mirza Mūqīm, and sup-

\* This manuscript belonged to Leyden, and is probably the one used by Elphinstone. See his account of Cabul (1842), ii., p. 8. Dr. Bernard Dorn has given extracts from the history in the *Bulletin Scientifique de l'Académie Impériale*, St. Petersburg, vol. iv., for 1838, British Museum Catalogue, Ac. 11,256.



ported and advised him when he was young and in trouble. Apparently the chronicler confounds in one place Mirza Mūqīm with Ulugh Mirza, for he speaks of the former as the son of Abu Said. One day Sheikh Usman, an Afghan saint—or, at least, a wise man in the tribe of the Yusufzais—saw Shah Sulaiman sitting with the young Mirza (? Ulugh) on his knee, and warned him that the boy had the eyes of Yezid, and would destroy him and his family as Yezid had destroyed the family of the prophet. But Sulaiman gave no heed to the warning, and gave the Mirza his daughter in marriage. The result was that Mirza Ulugh invited the Yusufzais to Kabul, and then treacherously put 700 of them to death, together with their leader, Shah Sulaiman. The place where they were killed is called Siah Sang, or the Black Stone, and is near Kabul. It is still called, says the chronicle, the Graves of the Martyrs, and their tombs are revered, especially that of Sheikh Usman. Shah Sulaiman was the son of Malik Tājuddīn, who had seven sons. Sulaiman was the eldest, and the second son was Sultan Shah, the father of Malik Ahmad. Sulaiman made three requests to M. Ulugh before he was put to death, and one was that the life of his nephew Ahmad might be spared. This was granted. Ulugh Beg died, and his son-in-law and successor, M. Mūqīm, was defeated by Babar. Meanwhile, the Yusufzais had migrated to Peshawar, but had afterwards returned and taken Swat from Sultan Wais.

When Babar came to the throne of Kabul, he at first professed friendship for the Yusufzais, but he was prejudiced against them by their enemies, the Dilazaks, who enforced their charges against the Yusufzais by promising Babar a subsidy of 70,000 shakrukhis. Babar therefore determined to kill Malik Ahmad, the chief of the Yusufzais. But he began by writing to him a friendly letter inviting him to visit him at Kabul. Ahmad agreed to come, and set out, accompanied by four brothers, who were famous musicians. Meanwhile, the Dilazaks had persuaded Babar

to put Ahmad to death at once and not to allow him to make a speech, for otherwise, they said, Ahmad was so clever and eloquent that he would induce the King to pardon him.

On Ahmad's arrival at Kabul, he learned that Babar's real object was to put him to death. His companions wanted to tie their turbans together and let him down over the castle wall, but he rejected the proposal as too dangerous both for himself and for them, and resolved to await his fate. However, he told his companions, except one of the musicians, to go and hide themselves in the city. Next morning there was a great assembly, and Babar sat upon the daïs-throne. Ahmad made his reverence on entering, but Babar's only acknowledgment of this was to make ready his bow and arrow to shoot him. When Ahmad saw that Babar's intention was not to allow him to speak and to shoot him down at once, he unbuttoned his jerkin and remained standing opposite to the King. When Babar saw this he was astonished, and relaxed the tension of his bow, and asked Ahmad what he meant. Ahmad's only reply was to tell the King to do what he intended, and not to put any question to him. Babar again asked him what he meant, and got the same reply. Babar put the question to him a third time, and added that he could not dispose of the matter without knowing more. Then Ahmad opened the mouth of praise, and after expatiating on Babar's excellencies, he said that there was a great assembly, and that many of Babar's subjects were looking on and expecting to see the shooting. His (Ahmad's) jerkin was very thick, and perhaps the arrow would not pierce it, the shot would fail, and the spectators would blame the King for missing his mark, so he had thought it best to lay bare his bosom. Babar was so pleased with this reply that he at once resolved to pardon Ahmad, and laid down his bow. Then he said to Ahmad :

"What sort of man was Bahlul Ludi?"

"A giver of horses," said Ahmad.

"And what sort of man was his son Sikandar?"

"A giver of robes," replied Ahmad.

"And what sort of man is Babar?"

"He," said Ahmad, "is a giver of heads."

"Then," said Babar, "I give you your head."

Babar now became quite friendly with Ahmad. He came down from his throne, took him by the hand, and led him into another room, where they had a drinking bout. Three times did Babar have his cup filled, and after drinking a portion, gave the rest to Ahmad. At last the wine went to Babar's head, and he grew so merry that he began to dance. Meanwhile, Ahmad's musician played, and Ahmad, who was a good Persian scholar, poured out an eloquent harangue. When Babar had danced for some time he held out his hands to Ahmad for *bakhshish*, saying: "I'm your performer." Three times did he open his hands, and each time did Ahmad with a profound reverence drop a gold coin into the King's hand. Babar took the coin, and each time placed his hand on his head. Then Babar took off his dress, and presented it to Ahmad, who at once took off his coat and put it on the musician, Adu, and then put on the dress given him by the King.

The interview ended satisfactorily for all parties, and Ahmad returned to his tribe and recounted his adventures. Some time afterwards Babar wrote another letter to Ahmad inviting him to visit him again. But Ahmad wisely declined to go, saying to his people that he had been once to Kabul and had only narrowly escaped death. He, however, sent his brother—or rather, perhaps, his uncle—Shah Mansūr. Babar received him kindly, but soon gave him his dismissal, being annoyed that Ahmad had not obeyed his summons. When Mansūr came back, Ahmad told his tribe that Babar would certainly come with an army to punish them, and advised them to retire to the mountains and to make a strong *sangar*. They did so, and, as Ahmad had foretold, Babar came into the Yusufzai country with an army. He devastated their lands, but found that he could make no

impression on their fort. In order to judge better of its character, he, as was his wont, disguised himself as a Qalandar, and went off on a dark night, accompanied by some friends, to the Mahūra hill, where the stronghold was, and which was a day's journey from the king's camp at Dīārūn. It was the time of the 'Īd Qurban, and there was a great feast and assembly at Shah Mansūr's house, which was at the back of the Mahūra mountain, and is still known as Shah Mansūr's throne. Babar, disguised as a Qalandar, went round to the back of the house, and stood among the crowd in the courtyard. Servants were going to and fro, and he asked them about Shah Mansūr's family, and if he had any daughter or not. They gave him straightforward answers.

"At this time Musammat Bibi Mubārika, the daughter of Shah Mansūr, was seated in a tent with some other women. Her eye fell upon the Qalandars, and she sent a servant to Babar with some cooked meat folded between two loaves. Babar asked who had sent it, and the servant said with simplicity: 'Bibi Mubārika, the daughter of Shah Mansūr, sent it.' Babar said: 'Where is she?' And the servant replied: 'That is she who is sitting in the tent facing you.' Babar Padshah became entranced with her beauty (*lit.*, became four-eyed with regard to her), and asked the servant, a woman, what Bibi Mubārika's disposition, etc., was, how old was she, and was she betrothed? The servant replied by extolling her mistress, saying that her virtues equalled her beauty, that she was pious and brimful of rectitude and placidity, and adding that she was not engaged. After that Babar left with his friends, and going to the back of the house, he hid there between two stones the food that the lady had sent him.

"When he returned to his camp, he was in a difficulty what to do. He saw that the fort could not be taken, and yet he was ashamed to return to Kabul without having effected something, and, moreover, he was fettered by the chain of love. So he became well inclined towards the tribe, and sent by trusty messengers a letter to Malik Ahmad and the Yusufzais, saying that he had no evil design against Malik Ahmad or the other Yusufzais, and that it was merely out of friendship that he had sent for Ahmad. But he had not come, and so Babar had gone to him; and there, too, Ahmad had not met him, but had shut himself up in a fortress, and was making warlike preparations. The only thing now that prevented Babar from going back was that he wanted them to give him Shah Mansūr's daughter in marriage. When Malik Ahmad and the other Yusufzais had read the letter, they replied to the envoys that none of them had any daughter in their house, and, moreover, that it was not right for them to intermarry with Mogols. Malik Sulaiman had given his daughter to Mirza

Ulugh, and the fruit of that was that he and seven hundred others were seized and put to death. Ahmad had given his sister, Bibi Fatima, to Sultan Wais,\* and the latter had slaughtered her, although she had not committed any fault. Babar wrote another beautiful firman in answer to this, to the effect that he had nothing but good intentions towards them, and that they should take this into consideration and respond to his offers, otherwise they would repent it. As for their denial of the existence of daughters, it was impossible for them to maintain such denial, as he himself had on the 'Id Qurban day been present, disguised as a Qalandar, at Shah Mansūr's house, and had seen his daughter, and received from her hands bread and meat. These he had hidden between two stones at the back of Shah Mansūr's house. Let them inquire into these facts from Shah Mansūr's family, and give him Bibi Mubārīka in marriage, so that there might always be peace and concord between him and the Yusufzais, otherwise it was they who were forcing him to retire with disgrace. Ahmad explained the firman to Shah Mansūr and the tribe, and they searched and found the bread and meat, etc. Ahmad and Mansūr were still averse to the marriage, but the tribe said: 'Your family has always sacrificed your wealth and health for the safety of the tribe. This time also make the marriage with Babar Padshah, for he is well-disposed towards us, and we shall always be protected from his anger.' Malik Ahmad and Shah Mansūr still said they disapproved of the marriage, but that they would yield for the good of the tribe. Then Shah Mansūr started the difficulty that they had no marriage presents or dowry, etc.; but to this the tribe replied that he might be at ease, as they would supply everything. Therefore Malik Ahmad sent to the King an acceptance of his proposal. When this reached him, the drums of joy were beaten and marriage preparations were made. In a few days Babar sent presents to the bride, and also sent his sword, and Malik Ahmad and Shah Mansūr set off with the bride."

They came from Thana by M'amūra (?), and having crossed the river at the village of Chakdara, they came by a narrow road between two hills, and came by the village of Talāsh to the back of Tiri (?). There the King's escort met them, and Shah Mansūr and Malik Ahmad went back from there, spent the night at Chakdara, and in the morning arrived at their homes at the Mahūra Sangar. Meanwhile Runa, the nurse who had the control of Mansūr's household and two other nurses, as well as a large number of male and female servants, went on with Bibi Mubārīka towards the king's camp. The bride was set down with all honour in the middle of the camp and placed in a large

\* This was hardly to the point, for Sultan Wais does not seem to have been a Mogol.

tent. On that night and on the following day the wives of the officers came to see Bibi Mubārīka, but she paid no attention to them. So as they were going to their tents they said to one another, "As for her beauty, that is beyond question, but as she has shown us no kindness and has not spoken to us, we do not know what mystery there is about her."

Now Bibi Mubārīka had charged her servants to let her know when the King was approaching in order that she might receive him in accordance with the instructions given to her by Malik Ahmad. They said to her that was the pomp just now of the King's going to prayers at the general mosque. On the same day, after mid-day prayers were over, the King proceeded towards Bibi Mubārīka's tent. Her servants informed her, and she immediately left her couch and advanced and lighted up the carpet by her presence. She stood in a respectful attitude with folded hands, and when the King entered she bowed herself before him. But her face remained wholly covered. At last the King seated himself on the couch and said to her, "Come, Afghaniya, be seated." Again she bowed down before him, and then stood as before. A second time he said, "Afghaniya, be seated." Again she prostrated herself before him, and came a little nearer, but still continued to stand. Then the King pulled the veil from her face and beheld incomparable beauty. He was entranced, and again said, "O, Afghaniya, sit down." Then she bowed herself again, and said, "I have a petition to make. If an order be given, I will make it." The King kindly said, "Speak." Thereupon she, with her two hands, opened her dress and said, "Think that the whole tribe of the Yusufzais is enfolded in my skirt, and for my sake pardon them for all their offences." The King replied, "I forgive the Yusufzais all their offences in thy presence, and cast them all into thy skirt. Hereafter I shall have no ill-feeling to the Yusufzais." Again she bowed before him, and the King took her by the hand and led her to the couch.



When the time of afternoon prayer arrived, the King got off the couch to go to prayers, and the lady jumped up and fetched him his shoes. He put them on, and said very pleasantly, "I am extremely delighted both with you and your tribe, and have pardoned all of them for your sake." Then he shrugged his shoulders,\* and said with a smile, "We know it was Malik Ahmad that taught you all these ways."

Then he went off to prayers while the lady remained and said her prayers in the tent.

After some days the camp moved from Dīārūn and proceeded by Bajaur and Taukī to Kabul. The King's love for Bibi Mubārīka increased day by day, and he showed her all honour, but the Mogol ladies were envious of her, and gave her drugs which made her barren. So she had no children. After some years, when the King went to India, Bibi Mubārīka's brother, Mir Jamāl, went with him. He rose to high office, and at the King's death he was similarly honoured by Humayun. He received still higher rewards from Akbar, and built palaces in the Firmilian quarter in Lahore. His sons and grandchildren also served Akbar, and two of his children were in Jahangīr's service. He died in Akbar's reign. Bibi Mubārīka lived honoured till the beginning of Akbar's reign, and then died.

The above story is told with such great detail, and with such specification of places, that one feels inclined to believe a good deal of it, and, as Elphinstone remarks (*l. c.*, p. 11), Babar confirms the story of his marriage. See Erskine's translation of the *Memoirs*, pp. 250, 251, and 268. Babar does not mention Malik Ahmad, and says that his bride was brought to him by Tāūs Khan, a younger brother of Shah Mansūr. The name Macharikeh, given to the lady in Erskine's note, p. 251 of Babar's *Memoirs*, is evidently a clerical error. Erskine also refers to the marriage in his "History of India," vol. i., p. 338. There are several Jamāls

\* Lit., touched the lady on the shoulder. Perhaps it only means made merry with her.

mentioned in the Akbarnama and in Blochmann, but it is not certain if any of them is the Mir\* Jamāl of the manuscript. Bibi Mubārīka is the Afghani Agachha of Gulbadan Begum's Memoirs. Her marriage with Babar took place in 925 A.H., or 1519.

Such is the story of the Blessed Damozel, for so we may interpret the name Bibi Mubārīka. It is a pretty story, and has been prettily told by the old chronicler. But even at this distance of time and place one feels sorry for the "sweet Highland girl" sacrificed to politicians and the interests of her tribe. Babar was no ordinary king, and her vanity may well have been flattered by his choice. She may also have drawn a worthier satisfaction from the thought that she had saved her people from massacre. But her cup must have had many bitter drops in it. Babar was probably more than twice her age, and had already several wives, and when taken to the torrid plains of India she must have often regretted her old home, with its freedom, its breezy hillsides, and its clear streams.

\* It seems likely that he is the Mir Jamāl mentioned in the Akbarnāma, *Bib. Ind.*, ed. i., 315, bottom line, as a favourite servant of Mirzā Hindāl Bābar's youngest son, and as afterwards entering Akbar's service.

## A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH MISSIONS TO SIAM.

BY PINYA.

IF ever at some future time true and unbiassed accounts of the French Roman Catholic missions to the East should come to be written, such histories would be found to contain records of heroic self-denial and of pure, single-hearted devotion, surpassing many of the noble deeds which have excited the admiration of the world, and these occurring not merely once and again as bright passages in otherwise commonplace annals, but as every-day matters in the life-work of the brave men who have for centuries succeeded each other in the ranks of the army of the Cross. Side by side with such records would be found—more especially in the histories of those missions whose work lay in countries weakly governed—accounts of subterfuge and treachery, carried by these men to such a pitch as to cause the reader to wonder at the complexity of the human conscience, impelling at one moment to deeds of the highest virtue, and at another justifying acts of unqualified baseness, and deeming both good and bad actions alike beneficial to the sacred cause in the interests of which they are performed.

Unfortunately, it is scarcely probable that such true histories ever will be written. The voluminous narratives of their labours given by the imaginative mission fathers to the world are unreliable in that they invariably overestimate and embellish the virtues of their brethren, while slurring over or suppressing such details as might prove of questionable honesty to the mere lay mind. On the other hand, the accounts of their opponents usually err quite as deeply in the opposite direction. It is, however, possible, by a survey of the romantic tales of the past, making always due allowance for exaggeration, and by observation of

present results, to arrive at a comparatively just conclusion as to the working of these missions, and as to how far they have been productive of good or of evil to the people among whom they have striven to introduce their religion. It would appear to be a general rule that no Christian mission ever sent to the East has proved quite an unmixed blessing to the country in which it has laboured. With regard to French Roman Catholic missions in particular, the further rule seems to hold good that where strong government or the force of public opinion has rendered political intrigue and interference impossible, and has constrained the missionaries to content themselves with much labour and small results among the outcasts and pariahs, there most good has resulted from their efforts ; whereas, where weak government or public apathy has permitted the free indulgence of intrigue, the ambitious aims of the holy fathers have not only done no good, but have generally brought about popular division and unrest, culminating in all the horrors of persecution, civil war, and even revolution, and in the ultimate suppression of the missions themselves.

It is probable that of all the fields of French missionary enterprise in the East, none affords so many pictures of the vicissitudes of missionary life as does that of Siam. In that country, indeed, since the arrival of the first French Bishop in April, 1662, the Roman Catholic priests have borne a part in the affairs of the nation—at one moment the highest power in the land, the advisers and ambassadors of Kings, and at another helpless prisoners given over to the scorn and persecution of the mob—which has materially affected the history of the country, though, from the point of view of religion, all their efforts have proved practically barren of result. The story of how Siam became the centre of the Catholic Church in the East, under French Bishops consecrated at the instigation of Louis XIV., of how these Bishops, by the most daring intrigue, supported with troops and money by their ambitious sovereign, came near to proselytizing the King and the whole country, and almost

secured for His Most Christian Majesty that empire in the East for which France has since obstinately striven in every part of India and Indo-China, and of how, when all seemed to be within their grasp, the whole edifice of their schemes toppled over and crushed them beneath its ruins, forms one of the most interesting episodes in the history of European intercourse with the East. That great attempt may be said to constitute the first chapter of the tale of French priests in Siam. After its collapse the mission struggled on until the conquest of Ayuthia by the Burmese brought the second chapter to a miserable close, and chapter three, which opens with the establishment of the present dynasty on the throne, brings the story down through the whole of the nineteenth century to the present moment.

The first appearance of Christian missionaries in Siam was in A.D. 1621, in which year some Portuguese monks of St. Francis came over from Goa at the express desire of the then reigning Siamese King, and commenced the work of conversion in a church he had built for them at Ayuthia, his capital. Some years later the small band of converts was increased by the arrival of several hundreds of Japanese and Cochin-Chinese Christians, who had fled from the persecutions instituted in those countries against persons of that faith. The tolerance of the rulers of Siam in giving asylum to these refugees, and in allowing them unrestricted exercise of their religion, naturally drew attention to the possibilities of successful mission work in that country, so that when in 1651 a movement was set on foot in Europe to reorganize and extend the missions scattered through the East, Siam received the first attention, and it was decided to send an extensive mission there. This movement originated in France, where Louis XIV., the greatest *poseur* of that or almost any time, desirous of figuring as a leader in the great work of reclaiming the heathen, gave it his fullest support. Three young French priests were consecrated Bishops, and were dispatched at intervals to the scene of operations. A seminary was instituted in Paris for the

preparation of priests for the mission. It became the fashion among the great ladies of the French Court to be interested in the supplanting of the ancient religions of the immemorial East by the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith, of which the lives of the French nobility at that period afforded such a brilliant example, and, following the lead of their King, numbers of the wealthier nobles "poured out their riches to fertilize this sacred field."

The three Vicars Apostolic, Bishops of Beryte, of Heliopolis, and of Metellopolis, were compelled to make their way to the East by a devious route, the Dutch and Portuguese, fearing future political complications and possible commercial rivalry as results of this outburst of French enthusiasm, refusing to give them passage, and there being no ships sailing from France to the East at that time. This route lay over land from Alexandretta, viâ Aleppo and Baghdad, to Ispahan, and thence to Surat by ship; from Surat some six weeks' march across India to Masulipatam; and from there by merchant vessel to Mergui, the western port of Siam. Such a journey naturally occupied a long time, and the Bishop of Beryte, who left Marseilles in November, 1660, did not reach Siam till April, 1662. The two others, however, travelled a good deal more quickly, but the Bishop of Metellopolis unfortunately died, when near the end of his journey, at Palacol, near Masulipatam.

Eventually the Bishops of Beryte and Heliopolis foregathered at Ayuthia, and quickly discovered in that capital city an ideal centre for the missionary enterprise of the East. Indeed, Ayuthia at that time possessed exceptional qualifications for the headquarters of a missionary army scattered through the surrounding countries. The reigning King, Phra Narai, had been so lax in his observance of the forms of the Buddhist religion as to cause his priests to conspire against his life. The plot was discovered and the whole priesthood plunged into the deepest disgrace shortly before the arrival of the Roman Bishops, who therefore did not meet with the ecclesiastical opposition which would



doubtless have been offered to them had the King and his clergy been united. The tolerant disposition of the Court towards Christians already established in Siam was well known, and allowed the Bishops to hope that their labours might meet with little or no opposition from the ruling class. Furthermore, Ayuthia was at this time the centre of a flourishing trade with the other Indo-Chinese nations, with China and Japan, and with the more powerful Indian States. There were quarters in and round the city inhabited exclusively by natives of many foreign countries, and communication could be easily maintained by means of trading vessels or caravans with all parts of the East. The Bishop of Heliopolis therefore went back to Europe charged with such *couleur de rose* accounts of the tolerance of the King and the prospects of the mission, that he speedily obtained from the Pope a Bull constituting Ayuthia the head and centre of the Church in the East with the exception of Goa, with which he returned to Siam.

The Bishop, however, brought back with him from Europe something more important to the success of the mission than even the Papal Bull. He returned as the accredited ambassador of Louis XIV., bearing a complimentary letter from that sovereign to His Majesty Phra Narai. This dignity of ambassador from a great and powerful monarch added—as it was intended to do—much importance to the mission, for the Bishop of Heliopolis was received in public audience by the King, who gave him land, and promised to build for the mission a magnificent church. Under these conditions the work of conversion prospered. A seminary for the teaching of foreign languages and for the preparation of native priests and catechists was established, as also was a convent, and a branch mission was founded at Ptsanulok, a large town to the north of Ayuthia, and a former capital of Siam. The size of the congregation increased considerably, no efforts being spared to swell the number of proselytes. The flock still, however, consisted mainly of Portuguese half-castes,

Cochin-Chinese, Tonquinese, and Japanese refugees, and other persons of foreign extraction, the Siamese themselves then, as now, holding almost entirely aloof from the movement, notwithstanding the entire liberty of conscience accorded to his people by the King. In 1674 a new Bishop of Metellopolis arrived from France to assist in the good work, and in 1679 the Bishop of Beryte died. The progress of the mission so far was chiefly due to the exertions of the latter, who, from the moment of his arrival in Siam up to that of his death, never relaxed his efforts for the advancement of the Church. That he was a good and noble man, devoting himself truly to the cause for which he had voluntarily taken upon himself a permanent exile, the recorded letters of English, Dutch, and Portuguese traders in Siam join in proving, as also that his loss was sincerely deplored by all those, from the King downwards, who had known him in the land of his labour.

From the date of the good Bishop's death the restless promptings of ambition began to disturb the peaceful work of the mission. In 1680 the French statesman Colbert, whose policy was always that of expansion and glorification of France by conquest abroad rather than by the doubtful issue of European wars, began to look seriously towards Siam, an exaggerated idea of the riches of which country was being spread about Europe by the travellers' tales of English, Dutch, and Portuguese merchants, and where, thanks to the efforts of the mission, French influence appeared to be strong. The first result of this was the establishment of a trading factory at Ayuthia, attended by all the flourish usual upon the inauguration of French enterprise of this nature. The Siamese King saw in the French a possible counteraction to Dutch influence, which was now so strong in Siam and the surrounding countries as to cause him some uneasiness. He therefore received the newcomers honourably, and to further advance his influence with France dispatched an embassy under the guidance of missionary priests to Paris. This embassy, however, after touching at

Batavia, was never heard of again, having been presumably lost at sea.

The next move was the return to Ayuthia in 1682 of the Bishop of Heliopolis, who had left Siam, and after various adventures had found his way back to France, and who now arrived, once more in the character of ambassador, bearing rich presents and a highly complimentary letter from King Louis. In reply to this, a splendid embassy was dispatched to France, which, more fortunate than the first, arrived there safely, arousing considerable interest, not only at the French Court, but throughout Europe.

The seeming tolerance of King Phra Narai towards the Christians in Siam was in reality the outcome of nothing more than carelessness, for, his faith in his own religion having been rudely shaken by the conspiracy before mentioned, he was practically without a creed of any sort. That this was well known there can be no doubt, as it is admitted by the missionaries in their own accounts that the same tolerance was extended to the Mahommedans in Siam as to themselves. The French Bishops, however, chose to have it believed that the attitude of the King towards the Christians was due to a partiality for their faith, and on this ground they conceived the astounding idea of enticing or coercing Phra Narai himself with the aid of King Louis into embracing Christianity, in which he would, they thought, be followed by the whole population, thus achieving the greatest triumph ever dreamed of in the wildest flights of evangelical imagination.

In this project the Bishops were supported by the chief minister of the Siamese King, one Constantine Phaulkon, a European adventurer, whose romantic career affords one of the finest examples of the merchant sailor in the rôle of powerful statesman, of which almost all the countries of the East have at one time or another produced specimens. The son of a Cephalonian innkeeper, Phaulkon left his home at the age of twelve, and after some years of precarious existence in London, found his way to the East as

a sailor on an English ship. In this capacity he remained for some years, when, having saved a little money, he embarked on a trading venture of his own to Siam. There, after a series of stirring adventures and strange vicissitudes, he ultimately gained the entire confidence of the King, became the most influential minister in the country, was raised to the highest rank of nobility, and amassed a very considerable fortune. This powerful European early attracted the attention of the French missionaries, who did all in their power to gain his support in their undertakings. In this they were successful, for the chief minister, finding them so strongly supported in Europe as to be of probable use to him for his own ends, took up their cause with zeal, and ultimately even proclaimed himself a convert from the Anglican to the Roman faith. The protection afforded by him to the missionaries soon brought him to the notice of Colbert, and between the two a considerable correspondence sprang up.

It can never now be known what exactly were the aims of Phaulkon in espousing so warmly the cause of the French in Siam. There are those who do not hesitate to aver that he hoped for the sovereignty of Siam for himself, with the assistance of the French in getting and in afterwards maintaining the same; but this can hardly be seriously believed when it is remembered that he, more than anyone else in the world, must have realized how absolutely impossible it would be for a European to keep the throne in the midst of the continual Court intrigue which had so often unseated the Siamese kings themselves. It is more probable that, realizing the strong feeling against him which existed among the Siamese, and the insecurity of his high position, from which a mere whisper from one of the Court favourites might at any moment precipitate him into beggary, he hoped, by assisting in the establishment of French protection over Siam, to interpose between himself and his Siamese enemies a stout shield behind which he might, if necessary, beat a safe retreat with all his wealth to Europe.

Whatever were his objects, however, Phaulkon and the French bishops, with no proof whatever in support of their statements, informed King Louis through the missionary Father Tachard, a scheming and unscrupulous Jesuit who accompanied the embassy as interpreter, and who skilfully misinterpreted the words of the unsuspecting ambassadors, that His Majesty Phra Narai was greatly inclined towards Christianity, and could easily be persuaded to embrace that religion. Louis, on hearing this, immediately despatched the Count de Chaumont with a large following of Jesuit priests for the express purpose of bringing about the royal conversion. This embassy arrived in 1685, and at once made known its object. The surprise of the King on being thus confidently adjured to become a Christian, and the energy with which he repudiated any such idea, were so great as to afford conclusive proof that he had never even remotely contemplated the step, but Phaulkon and the missionaries who interpreted at the audiences succeeded in deceiving the French envoy as to the hopelessness of the case. They determined to make further efforts by means of another embassy which was about to be sent to France with the returning Count de Chaumont, and Father Tachard, who again went as interpreter, now explained at the Court of France that King Phra Narai was still hesitating, and would doubtless be soon won over, and that His Majesty asked for the loan of French troops for the purpose of defending Siam from the encroachments of the Dutch. That this pretext deceived neither the French King nor anyone else is now abundantly evident. Louis, though deeply engaged in European wars, lost no time in preparing an expedition. A body of 1,400 men was placed under the command of General Des Farges, an officer of distinction in the French army, and was despatched in a fleet of six ships, in which were also two envoys extraordinary, a bishop, and twelve Jesuits, the whole forming a noble company, which was, however, doomed to grievously disappoint the hopes of its originators. At the same time

the French King sent letters to Phaulkon, in which he called him his "councillor," conferred upon him the Order of St. Michael and St. Peter, and created him a Count of France. The arch-intriguer Father Tachard, whose accounts of his labours exist to this day as monuments to his power of imagination, returned with this expedition to Siam, bearing minute instructions from Louis himself as to the conduct of the missionaries which would be most conducive to the glory of the King, their (temporal) master.

The arrival of the great expedition in September, 1687, off the mouth of the river Menam astonished and terrified King Phra Narai, who absolutely refused to allow the soldiery to land, from which fact it is not difficult to perceive that, in spite of the words of the interpreters of the embassy, the troops had been borrowed without the knowledge or consent of the King. In this dilemma Phaulkon came to the rescue of the embassy, by long and persistent argument persuading the King not only to allow the French troops to land, but to quarter them in the fortress of Bangkok and in the town of Mergui, the two ports of Siam and the keys of the country. Little or nothing was effected by the envoys, who, after giving and receiving royal presents, shortly departed with the twelve Jesuits to China, leaving the troops, thanks to the offices of Phaulkon, comfortably established in the country.

The Siamese King was by now entirely under the influence of Phaulkon and his friends. Not only did he allow the French troops to continue to garrison Bangkok and Mergui, but French officers were placed in command of the best native soldiery, the royal person was surrounded by a bodyguard of French and other European adventurers, and last, but not least, the King's adopted son and declared successor was a Roman convert, entirely devoted to the missionaries.

At this juncture the Siamese nobles suddenly awoke to the fact that the mission, so long regarded by them with



contemptuous indifference, was grown into a political power which threatened momentarily to overwhelm their country. They saw that the King was powerless to resist the machinations of Phaulkon, aided and instigated by the priests, and that whether he continued to reign or died, which latter contingency his failing health rendered likely, and gave place to his adopted son, the near future looked equally black for them and for Siam. They therefore entered into a conspiracy against the Throne; one Phra Pet Racha, an ennobled soldier, was chosen as their leader, and under his guidance the palace was surprised and the King and his adopted son siezed. Phaulkon and the European guards were led into a trap and secured, the bishops and clergy were imprisoned, and ultimately Phra Pet Racha was himself proclaimed King, Phra Narai, his adopted son, Phaulkon and the adherents of that party being poisoned, beheaded, and otherwise got rid of.

Thereafter the Christians suffered grievous persecution; the priests were left starving in the gaols, while the laity were systematically ill-treated and robbed; the presence of the French troops in the country alone deterring the Siamese from proceeding to the extremity of massacre. These troops—it being found impossible either to entrap or defeat them—caused the new King much anxiety. At Mergui the garrison, which was being besieged, was cleverly induced to put to sea and so escape, without recourse to the dangerous and doubtful alternative of fighting, and thus got rid of; but at Bangkok the brave Des Farges disconcerted the plans of the Siamese by declining to retreat as steadfastly as he declined to surrender. In the hope of inducing a capitulation the Siamese General dragged the unfortunate Bishop of Metellopolis from gaol, and tied him stark naked to a stake in full view of the besieged fort and within range of its guns. Des Farges was, however, proof even against this, and ultimately the bishop was released and sent into the fort to negotiate. The result was that Des Farges, still refusing to do anything dis-

honourable in the eyes of a good soldier to save the face of the Siamese King, marched out with all the honours of war, and departed in ships provided by the Siamese, which conveyed the whole garrison safely to Pondicherry.

In departing General Des Farges carried away with him the last hopes of the missionaries of forcibly converting at one stroke the whole Siamese nation. After five and twenty years of unremitting labour and self-sacrifice, of patient intrigue and subtle misrepresentation of facts, after climbing by tortuous ways to a position of paramount, though by many unsuspected, influence in the kingdom, they were now left with their schemes entirely frustrated, their churches destroyed, their seminaries violated, their flocks scattered to the winds, and themselves reduced to finding such consolation as they could in the lugubrious prospect of martyrdom. This fate, the last triumph of the missionary, it appeared they would have every chance of enjoying. The Roman priests were everywhere regarded with hatred, and were treated with a violence to which some of their number actually did succumb. The bishops themselves had their beards pulled out, were dragged through the mud, and were only saved from death by the tardy recollection of their former acts of charity and kindness.

The violent feelings of resentment against the would-be destroyers of their country soon, however, gave place in the minds of the Siamese to those of contempt and indifference, which were and still are the chief characteristics of these people towards all foreigners. Many of the priests were set at liberty, and were allowed to beg their food in the streets in common with the Buddhist monks. Finally the return by General Des Farges of the ships which had been lent him procured the liberation of the bishops, and the arrival once more of Father Tachard with letters from King Louis resulted in the establishing again of a few small churches, and the reassembling of a part of the scattered flock. Having therefore brought about the death

of the King, of his heir, his chief minister, and many of his adherents, having plunged the country into war, and goaded the placid and anything but fanatical Siamese into persecuting and ill-treating hundreds of innocent people, the French priests now found themselves in much the same position as they were at the very beginning of their mission, with the additional obstacle to overcome of a lively fear of possible persecution in the minds of would-be converts, and with a somewhat increased difficulty in demonstrating the superior disinterestedness and purity of the Christian religion as practised by themselves.

Far away at Lopburi, in the jungle near the ruins of King Phra Narai's once splendid palace, stands a small half-ruined building, at one end of which is an altar over which a few years ago might still be traced the words *Jesus hominum Salvator*. Upon that altar is an effigy of Gautama the Buddha seated, gazing out with the contemptuous half-smile usually reproduced on the features of such images, while around him are the fruit and flower offerings deposited each morning by the jungle people of the neighbourhood. Volumes upon volumes have been written by the missionary fathers, extolling the bravery of their lives, and dilating on the undying influence of this period of mission work on the Siamese people; but that silent figure seated now in calm, contemptuous triumph, upon the spot once sacred to the holiest rites of Christianity shows in fitting allegory the relative positions of Buddhism and Christianity at the close of the first chapter of the history of the French mission in Siam, and refutes with crushing eloquence all the specious arguments of the Jesuits.

*(To be continued.)*

## COMMON SALT AS A PREVENTIVE OF CHOLERA AND PLAGUE IN INDIA.\*

BY C. GODFREY GÜMPEL.

### I.

THE inhabitants of India have for ages, no doubt, suffered from, and have been decimated by, epidemic diseases in an alarming degree; and so long as medical science was in ignorance of the cause and the nature of those disorders, and especially of the human organism in relation to them, we must accept this destruction of life as the inevitable result of such ignorance.

Now, however, since the medical profession asserts that the progress in the sciences of *physiology* and *pathology* enables its votaries to have obtained a deeper and more correct insight into the phenomena of the particular class of diseases, and to give a truer explanation of the symptoms by means of a profounder knowledge of the physiological conditions upon which the health of the human body depends, we are justified in asking: *How far has medical science taken advantage of this increased knowledge for the pursuit of the great and paramount object—the saving of human life and the prevention of human suffering?*

To answer this question by enumerating the many bacteriological researches and discoveries, or by pointing to the elaboration of a more distinct and improved "nosology"—that is, a refined art of giving Greek or Latin names to symptoms, or to a class of symptoms, or to certain forms of disease—this is evading the question. It does not inform us what progress has been made in the

\* The subject treated of in this article being an important one, we consider it will serve the interests of our readers by our giving the greater part of the first portion of the author's forthcoming treatise, entitled "The prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics generally," by which they will be able to judge of the manner in which this vexed question has been handled by the author. He proposes to devote the net proceeds of his treatise to the Indian Famine Fund.

beneficial results of medical art ; it does not show to what an extent, if at all, the physician can exercise his skill with greater certainty in preventing and curing these diseases than he was able to do, say, fifty years ago.

Let us but direct our inquiry to the two epidemic diseases which at the present time decimate the Indian people, namely, *cholera* and *plague*. In relation to the former—cholera—it can safely be asserted that the physician (or the surgeon-general) stands as helpless at the sufferer's bedside now as did the doctor in 1817, when that disease for the first time claimed the attention of the profession. Although the disorder has now been *studied* for eighty years, yet this scourge ravages, in this year of grace 1901, those districts of India where the famine has weakened the powers of resistance against the disease among the famished and starving people, thus plainly indicating that not the cholera bacillus, but an *increased susceptibility* (through want of food), is the cause of the present epidemic ; and the only means which medical science can advise or employ is the injection into the circulation of an "*anti-cholera serum*."

For more than seven years has Professor Haffkine experimented now to prove (or, more correctly, to discover) that the injection of a prepared disease-serum protects against an attack of cholera ; and although voices have been, and are, raised among the unbiassed members of the faculty against the unhesitating acceptance of the favourable conclusions upon "*insufficient and uncertain data*," the Professor, as also his supporters and friends, proclaim the results as "*almost*" incontestable.

And what has been achieved in these seven years of experimenting ? How far do the results of Professor Haffkine's researches encourage the authorities and the profession to recommend "universal inoculation" ?

Before answering that question, it is necessary to point out that inquiries have ascertained the well-attested fact that in Central and Western Europe not more than 5 per cent. at most of the population show any susceptibility for cholera. In Moscow in 1831 only 3 per cent., and in

Hamburg in 1892, of every thousand people (*who all drank the Elbe water, by which the disease was disseminated*) only twenty-eight were attacked, and of these thirteen died; therefore less than 3 per cent. were susceptible, and less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. succumbed. In Srinagar (Kashmir)—one of the most unsanitary places on the face of the earth, and hence highly favourable for the development of zymotic diseases—these figures come out per thousand inhabitants as seventy-two and forty-six—i.e., 7.2 per cent, of the people were attacked, and 4.6 per cent. died.\*

In the face of such undoubted facts we may well exclaim: One might pale before a science which proposes to apply such means (inoculation) to 100 people, that three, or, let us say, even seven, of them, may be saved from an attack of the disease, and half of them from an untimely death, especially so since *a second inoculation is deemed necessary to deprive the first of its life-endangering character.*

In an article on "Vaccination against Cholera," in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, 1893, Professor Haffkine records his researches and experiments on this subject, and states therein:

"The wound of which I have spoken"—as the result of the first vaccination—"is absolutely horrifying to look at, and in all probability extremely painful. Moreover, although of itself it does not present any danger to the health of the individual inoculated" (?) "it exposes him to all the complications inseparable from open wounds, such as erysipelas, gangrenous suppuration, etc. The point was to discover a new vaccine which would protect the organism against the violent local reaction, and this could manifestly only be a modified culture of the microbe" . . . hence . . . "two successive vaccinations are necessary."†

Well may the *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* (September, 1896) remark that "Dr. Sircar gives a searching examina-

\* See "On the Natural Immunity against Cholera" (London: Williams and Norgate, 1894); also "Common Salt: Its Necessity for the Prevention of Disease" (London: Sonnenschein and Co., 1898), chapter xxxviii.; and Dr. Bisset Hawkins' "History of the Epidemic Cholera in Russia" (London, 1831), p. 106.

† The word "vaccination" is derived from the Latin *vacca*—a cow. It is not quite clear where the cow comes in, or who is the cow, in the serum treatment for cholera or plague.



tion of the results reported from Dr. Haffkine's inoculation for cholera, and comes to the conclusion that the method is useless and dangerous." In this opinion he is supported by many medical men, who carefully weigh the evidence, and hesitate to extol the serum treatment before a trusting public on doubtful, if not imaginary, statistics.

How far the whole proceeding deserves our confidence can be ascertained from a late "Official Correspondence," dealt with in an article which appeared in the *Times* of August 17, 1900, entitled "Inoculation against Cholera and Typhoid." It is there stated that Dr.—or, more correctly, Surgeon-Captain—Vaughan reported as follows :

"The operation of protective inoculation was at first done in two stages—*i.e.*, the inoculation with what used to be termed the *first vaccine* to begin with, and later on inoculation with the *second vaccine*. For various reasons this was found to work inconveniently in practice" (therefore "*inconvenience*," and not science, determined the change) "and as it came to be ascertained that it was quite practicable to omit the inoculation with the first vaccine, the operation is now limited to the inoculation with the second vaccine only."

This deserves to be recorded as a wonderful scientific achievement. No. 1 vaccine was discovered to protect against cholera, but is dangerous ; to make it harmless No. 2 vaccine is invented, to be used after No. 1. Next it is found that No. 1 is inconvenient, and it is made practicable to discard it and obtain the same result with No. 2 vaccine only. We are justified in entertaining the hope that these discoveries will be crowned by making it "practicable" to leave out "conveniently" No. 2 vaccine also, and yet protect the inoculated.

We cannot be surprised that Captain Vaughan enthusiastically declares as the result (*after seven years of experimenting*) : "It *APPEARS* that *the impression has gradually gained ground that the inoculated ARE NOT NEARLY SO LIABLE TO BE ATTACKED as the uninoculated.*"

The mountain was in labour, and has brought forth a mouse !

But our admiration has not reached its limit yet. The *Times* article proceeds :

"The table of results shows, as Dr. Vaughan points out, that there is not only a reduction in the incidence of cholera among the inoculated, but that after inoculations have been done in any community, the incidence and death-rate among the *uninoculated* are *apparently* also reduced."

This is a kind of logical *salto mortale*, which imposes upon the ignorant and unreasoning public. It would be ludicrous were not human life at stake. Such loose and illogical assertions would not be offered for our acceptance except under the conviction of the thoughtlessness and stupidity of even the greater portion of the so-called educated public.

Equally injudicious is the attempt to take credit for the course of an epidemic by the application of such questionable means when the disease dies out of its own accord, without any medical or sanitary interference. And this is not only the case with cholera, but also with plague (about which more immediately), with small-pox, and all zymotic diseases. Dr. Nelson very pithily remarks: "When a large town was attacked, it would take from two to three months to select all the susceptible, and then cease."\*

When in Hamburg or in Srinagar the cholera disappeared, the municipality and the medical officers cannot boast of having been instrumental in stamping out the epidemic, any more than the Chinese authorities can claim to have stamped out the plague in filthy Canton, where the pest ceased synchronously with its disappearance in Hong-Kong, in which latter island all known and every possible means were employed to suppress the epidemic. "The decline of the epidemic cholera in Srinagar was due not to any absence of filth and of cholera-poison, but simply to the fact that the disease had weeded out all the persons who were susceptible to it."

The questionable character of so-called vaccination (or

\* "Asiatic Cholera," by R. Nelson, M.D., Health Officer, New York, 1866.

*serum injection* of any kind) is glaringly forced upon us when we inquire into the rationale of such a procedure, and find that the process is based upon the assumption that one attack of the disease (whether it originated through a natural infection or through the injection of the diseased germ) confers immunity against a second attack.

The word "*inoculation*" is a deceiving misnomer, since the process involved is the injection of a serum in often considerable quantity, so different from the inoculation of the vaccine, or variola-virus, of the minutest germ on the point of a needle or a lancet against smallpox. To advise and employ this injection of an anti-toxin serum against cholera is dictated by a complete misconception of the nature of the disease (see "*Immunity against Cholera*"). It is wanting in logic and common-sense, and, considering the danger to health and life accompanying the operation—which is, with a great deal of levity, superciliously denied—it appears highly reprehensible, if not criminal.

## II.

The last sentence gains in strength when we bear in mind that a simple prophylactic remedy exists, which has not only a scientific basis for its application, but has already proved itself effective as a curative agent against cholera. It furthermore is everywhere accessible, is easily applied, and is of a nature to meet with acceptance and approval on the part of the general public.

In Hamburg in 1892—after all other means which had been tried against cholera had failed—it was found that the only remedy left by which the disease could be beneficially influenced, and the sufferer's life could be saved, was *the injection into the circulation of a solution of common salt*. The simple salt solution alone had a wonderful effect in restoring vitality to the dying patient, and repeated injections achieved complete recovery in most cases. "We felt, at least," as Dr. Sick remarks, "that we did not stand helpless at the bedside."

That it did not wrest all sufferers from the claws of death will be explained immediately by the fact that in some cases which were taken into treatment too late, and in which the destruction of the blood had gone too far, it was absolutely impossible by any available means to restore life.

How common salt proved itself so beneficial in the case of cholera can be understood from the following analysis of the symptoms presented by that malady.

All latest researches lead us to infer that death in the case of cholera is not caused by the loss of water from the blood, nor is it the result of the pathogenic poison acting on the nervous system. It is self-evident that in so complicated an organism as the human body one part of it cannot suffer without the other parts becoming at the same time more or less involved and responding in sympathy. When, however, the chief symptoms which are characteristic of cholera are closely investigated, it will appear beyond doubt that this disease has its special seat in the blood; that it endangers the life of the sufferer through the more or less extensive destruction of the red blood-corpuscles; and that this latter is the true cause of the fatal issue. With the destruction of the red corpuscles the blood has lost its physiological function of absorbing oxygen in the lungs and giving it off to the various tissues, in consequence of which weakness of the heart, stagnation of the circulation, lowering of the body's temperature, cessation of the metamorphosis of matter, arrest in the secretion of the kidneys, with other morbid symptoms, such as difficulty of breathing, a feeling of suffocation, cyanosis (blue skin), etc., are the result, and the sufferer, often with full consciousness, finds his life ebbing away, until death ends the scene.

Already in 1831 Drs. Russell and Barry reported: "The blood ceases to circulate, its physical properties are altered . . . the secretions are all arrested, and animal heat is no longer produced" as the result of the blood's incapacity of

absorbing oxygen (see "Common Salt," pp. 67 to 76). Dr. Bisset Hawkins remarks (p. 62) :

"A frequent variety, the worst of all, is that which is noted for the very slight commotion in the system, in which there is no vomiting, hardly any purging, perhaps only one or two loose stools, no perceptible spasms, no pain of any kind; *a mortal coldness, with arrest of the circulation, comes on from the beginning, and the patient dies without a struggle.*"

Dr. Hartley Kennedy ("Notes on Epidemic Cholera," London, 1846), who has had an extensive experience in India, states :

"It is more than probable, however, that these"—diarrhoea and vomiting—"are merely the *first perceptible symptoms*, for it would appear that *a great change has already taken place in the circulatory system, and that the action of the heart itself has been greatly diminished before they occur.*"

And the action of the heart, and with it the circulation of the blood, as also the activity of the nervous system—in fact, *life itself depends for its continuance during every moment of our existence on the supply of oxygen, and if the blood is incapable of taking it up in the lungs and feed the heart and the nervous system with it, then the organic mechanism will come to a standstill, and death is the inevitable result.*

Clinical (bedside) and post-mortem examinations have shown that "*the destruction of the blood corpuscles is the pathognomonic lesion of cholera*" (Dr. Mireur, "Etude sur la Prophylaxie et le Traitement du Cholera," Paris, 1884). It is the never-failing symptom, which is characteristic of the disease in its fatal issue.

With the object, therefore, of preventing and curing cholera, our attention should be principally directed to the protection of the blood against the pathogenic influences, and this will be still more impressed upon our mind when we take into account that over 90 per cent. of human beings are already protected through a natural immunity.

It is a singular phenomenon, and not to the credit of medical acumen, that the efforts of the profession for the protection of the human body have been directed to all extra-corporeal influences and agencies (with the exception

of the fictitious protection by means of serum injection), and never to the inquiry into this *natural immunity*. All *studies* and investigations of the nature of the disease resolved themselves into the discovery and the hunt for the bacillus, to ascertain its mode of propagation, its vitality—in short, its natural history; and whenever the question of climate as a favourable factor for the development of the disease has been raised, it has always been referred to in its influence upon the bacillus, but never was attention directed to the effect of climatic conditions—*i.e.*, of heat and moisture—upon the susceptibility of the human organism for the disease. How true is Dr. Gottstein's remark (in "*Allgemeine Epidemiologie*") about the disregard shown to human susceptibility when he says:

"We estimate the morbid symptoms in an animal body by the virulence of the bacillus, while at the same time we measure the virulence of the bacillus by the morbid symptoms of the diseased organism."

The whole question of the prevention and the treatment of cholera, as represented and taught by medical science and medical art, has hence not met with anything like a satisfactory solution, and thus justifies an appeal to the people of India and to the public generally to press for the application of more promising measures other than those hitherto employed by the Indian Government and its medical advisers.

### III.

Before entering upon the consideration of the measures to be adopted against cholera, it will not be out of place here to survey the combat with the other form of disease, the plague, and learn what has been achieved by the attempts of "stamping out" that epidemic.

Since September, 1896, has the bubonic plague been raging in India, and has defied all efforts of the doctors and the Government. In the Bombay Presidency alone the victims of the scourge can be counted by considerably over 100,000, and the means employed to combat the



epidemic have proved futile, whilst throwing a heavy financial burden upon the Indian Government and upon the various municipalities.

The earnest endeavours of checking the spread of the disorder by separating the "attacked" (in special hospitals) and the "suspected" (in segregation camps) from the still "unaffected" have had, no doubt, some influence upon the expansion of the epidemic within narrow and circumscribed areas; but, on the whole, it has not produced any signal effect in either confining the disease to the infected regions, much less in stamping out the epidemic. The plague has mocked all the measures which have been adopted against it. It reappears year after year to demand its victims; it invades distant as well as neighbouring countries, and raises its hydra-head in different parts of the earth in a most unexpected manner. But wherever it appears there the doctors arrive in great numbers to *study* the malady, some, according to the author of "The True Aim of Preventive Medicine" (*Contemporary Review*, October, 1900), to sell their wares, the latest concocted antitoxins. The result is as of old: the susceptible, when exposed to the infection, are attacked, and either recover or die, according as their constitution and their vital powers serve them to conquer the disease, or fail them, and they succumb. The doctors are helpless to save the life of the patient if his own recuperative powers cannot do it. We must admire Dr. Choksy's honest admission that "all that the means at our command can do is simply to tide the patient over the most critical period, and to assist Nature in recovering her original sway over the system."

As in the case of cholera, so it is in plague; the greater number of people show a natural immunity against the disease, and this immunity is the potent safeguard to escape an attack. There are human beings who carry the plague poison about with them without suffering or yielding to the infection. Others, again, when the poison enters their system suffer only a slight indisposition,

scarcely enough to disturb them in their daily avocation, whilst the susceptible members of the infected community are struck down, and if death does not claim them, then often the patient lingers under the affliction of serious constitutional ailments.

How powerfully this *insusceptibility* asserts itself for the protection against plague is evidenced by the facts which are related in the Report of the Austrian Plague Commission, and in reading that report we shall receive besides a striking answer to the opinion so frequently and thoughtlessly expressed that bodily cleanliness affords protection against infection.

The late Dr. Müller informs us in that report that "the medical men in Bombay practically escaped, which," he declares, "cannot cause surprise when it is remembered that constant care was bestowed on cleanliness and disinfection."

The assumed cause of this immunity is, however, completely controverted by his own description of the scenes in the Arthur Road Hospital, which for its undoubted importance deserves to be reproduced uncurtailed. He says :

"It must be considered as most remarkable that the ward-boys and the sweepers in the hospital were immune from the plague, although the former had to attend the sick, change bandages, and during this process touched the open buboes; while the latter were engaged in the removal of fæcal and other deposits, cleaning the floor and the utensils, transporting the dead, and assisting in the operations on the corpses. Only one was subject to an attack previous to our arrival, but he recovered, and during our stay in Bombay two ward-boys sickened, but were able after a few days to resume work.

"The ward-boys and the sweepers went about *barefooted*, sometimes with bleeding cracks in their feet, and often showed rends in their fingers. One sweeper moved about the wards with a deep wound in the sole of his foot, and the boots which we bought for him he only wore half a day to save them. It will be more than remarkable to learn that these incredibly dirty sweepers cleaned the utensils, which contained the sputum, urine, and fæces, with their bare, wounded fingers, and walked about with naked feet on the floor, which was constantly soiled through the sputum and the evacuations dropped by delirious and other patients, *and yet they escaped infection.*"

"Moreover, with the object of allaying suspicion, the relatives and friends were permitted to remain constantly at the bedside of the sufferers. For whole days a family of adults and children would squat round the bed, not to lose a moment in removing the corpse to a place of cremation. I (Dr. Müller) have seen numerous cases in which relatives and friends have repeatedly touched the bubo, or carbuncle, without washing their hands previous to leaving; how in the case of pneumonic plague the friends and visitors have wiped away with their fingers the bloody sputum (which is, in truth, a pure culture of the plague bacillus) from the mouth of the sufferer, or, to save the patient the painful exertion of turning over, have received the expectoration in their hand. The hand would then be wiped either on the floor or on their dress. Never have I seen these people wash their hands, and without any attempt at cleanliness they would take their food with their dirty fingers, and yet, according to the official report of the Arthur Road Hospital, not one of these barefooted visitors to the bedside of these plague patients has been attacked by the disease."

This mocks all medical science, and it may very pertinently be asked, Of what value are sanitation and serum-injection in the face of such experiences?

Dr. Müller adds: "To come to any conclusion from the escape of people who are so intimately and so directly exposed to infection is almost impossible." And, let me add, it is equally almost impossible not to see in these facts the evident proof that the principal factor for the development of the individual case and for the propagation of an infectious disease is the individual susceptibility, the predisposition for the disorder—in other words, that a *natural immunity is the most effective weapon in the combat with an epidemic.*

And Dr. Müller expresses the same view when he says: ". . . whether the organism will triumph over the disease depends upon the degree of its natural power of resistance to the plague poison."

So also Brigade Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel James Arnott, M.D. (in his article "On the Plague"): "In those persons in whom the *vis medicatrix nature*—the resistance of the tissues to the microbe—is sufficient, the bacillus is arrested and destroyed in the glands."

## IV.

The last remarks lead us naturally to the inquiry about those symptoms of the disease which indicate the more or less serious character of an attack, and enable us to predict or estimate the chance of a fatal issue. Here we shall find, as in the case of cholera, that the *mortal* symptom is the destruction of the blood, and, as the immediate result, great weakness of the heart.

Considering all the symptoms presented to us in a case of plague, it must appear evident that the bubonic swellings are in themselves not contributive to the fatal issue. Says Dr. Milroy: "During an epidemic many persons have often been affected with glandular swellings and pains, and occasionally also with carbuncles, but with so little febrile disturbances that they have been able to follow their occupation and have speedily got well." The members of the Austrian Commission suffered from lymphatic enlargements, without any other morbid symptom; their blood possessed sufficient vitality to resist the plague poison. And that the entrance of the bacillus into the blood, and with it the destruction of the corpuscles, imparts to the case the fatal character is fully confirmed by the report of the German Plague Commission, which states that, with the entrance of the bacillus into the blood-circulation and its effect on the red corpuscles, the whole clinical aspect of the case, hitherto of a mild and benign character, reveals suddenly serious and alarming symptoms—copious diarrhœa indicates the approaching death.

Without resorting to a bacteriological investigation of the patient's blood, but limiting our observation to the ominous symptoms forced upon our attention, we must come to the conclusion that the blood has ceased in its function of supplying oxygen to the system, and "*deficiency of oxygen in the blood is gradual death to the heart.*"

Is the blood of a plague patient capable of absorbing oxygen, even if this latter were offered in an undiluted,

pure state? All evidences distinctly indicate that this is not the case. As a result, the heart, for want of the necessary stimulus, beats quick, soft, and feeble, the circulation becomes languid, and the nervous system shows the symptoms of a waning life.

A most striking confirmation of this is found in all the reports from bedside observations; they one and all point to "*the weakness of the heart*" as the immediate cause of death, and Dr. Müller, in the Report of the Austrian Commission, as also in a posthumous work on the Plague (Vienna, 1900), dwells with special emphasis on this phenomenon. He says: "In not any of the known infectious diseases are the symptoms connected with the heart forced upon our attention in the same degree as in the case of plague. The state of the heart dominates the course of the attack. THE PATIENT PERISHES FROM WEAKNESS OF THE HEART."

And that deficiency of oxygen in the blood may be safely looked upon as the cause of the heart's weakness is supported by Dr. Müller's observation that "the remarkable increase in the frequency of breathing is typical in all cases, even in those which end in recovery. The increase in the frequency of breathing is generally dependent upon the weakness of the heart, much less upon the height of the fever."

In fact, difficulty of breathing and weakness of the heart are both the consequence of the incapacity of the blood to absorb the oxygen from the atmosphere in the lungs. And Dr. Müller further believes that even the nervous system has less influence on the course of an attack than the state of the heart. "I have," he says, "seen a number of cases which developed rapidly, with freedom from or only slight nervous ailments, and ended in death; while others with severe disturbances of the nervous system, even with delirium, recovered."

There are other symptoms, which to describe would be out of place here; but we cannot be guilty, I venture to

think, of going beyond the bounds of simple logic when we maintain that all indications, whether bedside experience or necroscopic evidence, point to the fact that the cause of a fatal issue in an attack of plague is fully accounted for by the destruction of the blood-corpuscles and the consequent deficient oxygenation of the blood, and that hence any remedy, either prophylactic or curative, must have for its object the protection of the blood-corpuscles against the pathogenic microbes.



## COMMON SALT IN RELATION TO HEALTH.

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.A., M.D.

COMMON salt seems such a commonplace article, and so very likely to be overlooked in summing up the valuable products which the world affords man for his health and happiness, that it is quite a pleasure to find a historian who can write an excellent book on its value to mankind as a necessary article of diet during his whole life, and the great part this apparently insignificant article of commerce played in ancient times in the world's history. It is universally diffused throughout Nature, and enters largely into the physical composition of all animals and vegetables, and the sea may be looked upon as a vast reservoir of this particular chemical compound. For common salt, or chloride of sodium, as chemists call it, is composed of two elements, chlorine and sodium, having a great affinity with each other, so that in their ordinary everyday use they are not easily separated. That this compound is essential to man's health and physical well-being may be presumed and inferred from the vast storage of this salt which is known to exist in different parts of the world. What coal is to the man in his external aspect, salt is to his internal physical life—one in giving that warmth so essential to his comfort and health in winter or cold climates, the other in giving a preservative for keeping various parts of the body in a pure state, and in giving an acid for the digestion of his food, without which the digestive function could not be carried on. Both of these products also exist, stored up underneath the earth's crust—coal and salt—so that we must conclude from their abundance—no other substances being provisionally laid up in such plentifulness—that their use must have been pre-ordained for the well-being of man when he came as an inhabitant of the earth.

Mr. Gumpel, the author of a valuable and interesting

treatise on the subject of common salt, has compiled much data confirming its usefulness, and has cited many authorities showing its usefulness, and how large an influence it had at an early period of history in the intercourse of mankind. It was the great symbol of peace and amity amongst the ancient Eastern nations: a covenant of salt could not be broken without the direst consequences. It played an important part in treaties, and gave evidence of that "ancient faith that knows no guile" in inaugurating and carrying out those necessary bonds amongst nations for securing peace that any amount of diplomacy, protocols, and other political agencies, are unable to secure, in our modern system amongst the Powers at the present day.

This sodium chloride is more stable than its sister chlorides of ammonium and potassium, and thus can enter unaltered into the system, and also can depart from it in the same condition as it entered. The human body takes and stores within itself a uniform quantity which is necessary for its maintenance in health, and if more is taken than necessary by man it is eliminated and given a free exit by various doors of outlet—the lungs, skin, etc.—and the balance of the physical powers are thus maintained. Some animals have such an instinctive necessity and craving for this salt, that they travel hundreds of miles to get their want satisfied, and can lay up a provision for future use which lasts them for a long period. The deer is an animal of this sort, and expends little by little its store till it is finished, and then seeks for more. So, too, the camel has a reservoir or storage of water to serve it during long journeys across the desert, where no water is, and without which such a journey could not be undertaken.

Common salt, moreover, if taken in too large quantities, may prove otherwise than beneficial to the recipient. Dr. Taylor mentions that a young lady swallowed about half a pound, and in about two hours alarming symptoms set in, when general paralysis took place and she died; and Dr. Christison mentions a similar case, in which a pound of salt

being taken, death ensued within twenty-four hours with all the symptoms of irritant poisoning. The stomach and intestines were found in a high state of inflammation after death.

There need be no fear of such a catastrophe overtaking anyone who eats according to the rules given by Mr. Gumpel as to the manner and dose in which the common salt is to be taken.

Whether it is to be regarded as a specific in the various diseases which the author names as specially to be used in their treatment, this remedy would draw us into a controversy respecting its merits in comparison with other *medicamenta* that it is out of our province to enter. Whether it may be used as a medicament or means of cure only experiment can show. We think it has been proved to be a preservative of health, and that it keeps the body up to the mark in good working order, we are free to admit ; but only experiment under well-defined conditions, in comparison with other remedies of a newer character and well-ascertained germ-killing powers, can settle the question concerning its use in the great death-producing scourges of plague, cholera, diphtheria, *et hoc genus omne*, and such a trial as this can only be settled by actual experiment.

We may regard it as an axiom, therefore, that common salt is a necessary ingredient in the constitution of the human body, and that to keep it in health it is essential that this substance should be constantly used in our everyday life. The body cannot do without it, nor can it be maintained in health deprived of its use. Various cutaneous and other kinds of disease are called into existence by its want in the animal economy. To have a substance essential to the well-being, health, and even life, of man taxed, as in India, to add to the revenue of that country, bespeaks an ignorance of the laws of human physiology and of the healthiness of the people dependent thereupon of such a great and populous empire. It is difficult to understand how this impost, charged on a very necessity of life,

and not a luxury, can be maintained as a means of helping the Indian Exchequer. There are surely other articles of everyday life of a non-essential and luxurious character that may be taxed instead, and may fitly take its place, and it appears to us that it would be quite as wise to tax the rain, and the air and the sunshine as this health-giving and health-supporting substance.

## MARCO POLO'S TANGUT.\*

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN the year 1038 the King sent tribute to the Cathayans and was found to be living on very bad terms with his Cathayan Princess, who suddenly died. A special Cathayan ambassador, named Yelüh Shu-ch'êng, was sent to require explanations. The matter evidently dropped conveniently, for the Tangut ruler felt himself strong enough, with China, to declare himself Emperor that very year. He also tried once more the old game of sending spies "to lay out Buddhistic gems at the Wu-t'ai Shan Temple." The following year he indicted a very staggering despatch to the Emperor of China (Sung), which caused a terrible flutter in the imperial dovecote. He began by claiming blood relationship with the Toba (Tungusic) dynasty of Ngwei (which had ruled North China with credit for two centuries—380 to 580), and which may possibly have something to do with the Tangut honorific *ngwei-li*. He went on to remind the Emperor how his ancestor, Toba Sz-kung, hereditary satrap of Hia prefecture, had saved the T'ang dynasty from the rebel Hwang Ch'ao. Then he gave a sketch of his grandfather's and father's conquests, and expressed gratitude for the title of "King" so often conferred in the past. He added: "Your vassal, in his presumptuous attempts at casual study, has invented a small *fan* script, and has gone back in his choice of personal attire to the Hans fashion (B.C. 200 to A.D. 200). These literary and sumptuary novelties being now in active vogue, rites and music, sacrificial utensils, etc., being in regular use, it only remains for me to add that the T'u-fan (Tibetans), T'a-t'a (Onguts), Chang-ye (old name for Kam Chou), and Kiao-ho (Turfann) have all given in their submission. To use the title of

\* Continued from p. 139.

'King' is no longer agreeable; to do homage to an Emperor is to be a follower; and accordingly I have yielded to popular acclamation, and humbly propose that my dominions shall henceforth take 10,000 chariot (*i.e.*, imperial) rank. There was no help for it; I could not refuse; the ceremony was actually performed before the altar outside my capital on the 11th day of the 10th moon (*i.e.*, 1038); and I am now Emperor of Great Hia, with my first independent calendar date of 'Heaven Bestowed' (1039). I hope His Majesty the Emperor will take a lenient view of all this, and will grant to me a patent as 'south-facing Prince' (*i.e.*, Emperor) of the western parts, when I will make every effort to fulfil my duties, as becomes, etc., etc. With extreme loyalty I thus state my case at length, and humbly await the Emperor's consent. I most respectfully send X. (a fearful native name of fourteen syllables) to submit this address for your Majesty's information."

A "mandate" instantly issued, depriving the King of all his titles, closing all frontier markets, and ordering notices to be suspended all along the borders offering rewards for his head. On receipt of this news the King packed up all his patents and decorations in a box, wrote an insulting letter along with them, and contemptuously sent a man to "leave the whole to be called for" with a frontier tribe. The Cathayans prohibited the export of sheep to China, and next year (1040) China formally notified to Cathay the existence of a state of war with Tangut. The fat was now all in the fire, and the new autocrat in person led 100,000 of his best troops to the fray. It was on this occasion that the celebrated pigeon episode took place, as related in the *Contemporary Review* for 1896 ("Chinese Humbug"); but I find that my memory has there played me somewhat false, and that it was the Tanguts who arranged a box of pigeons with whistles attached to betray the presence of the Chinese, and not the Chinese who deceived the simple Turks; but the Tangut device must have been conceived by a Chinese Tangut. The Chinese armies sustained a



thorough defeat—though they appear to have fought obstinately—and it was at one moment seriously contemplated at Court to abandon the whole left bank of the Yellow River. Tangut was able, moreover, to present to the Cathayan monarch as trophies of his prowess a number of captive Chinese generals. However, a few timely turns of Fortune's wheel in the battle-field, coupled with the fact that the people of Tangut began to murmur at the severe repeated drafts made upon their resources in wealth and men, just saved the proud Son of Heaven from humiliation in the nick of time. After a little diplomatic fencing, in which Yeli Wang-jung represented the Tanguts, and the celebrated Chinese statesman, Fan Chung-yen, the Sung dynasty, both sides agreed to a temporary truce in order to try by way of variety the test of an intellectual conflict. The Chinese have never failed to "come out on top" from a scrimmage of this kind, and the Allied Powers will have only their own stupid jealousy to thank, if they allow themselves to be fooled in the same way in the year 1900. In delicate negotiations of this sort the Chinese have from time immemorial had recourse, amongst other tricks that are vain, to "wax-pill despatches," the mere mention of which explains their circuitous route through the duodenum, ileum and cæcum of an innocent coolie or blockade-runner. In this instance the wax pill was found to contain a jujube (*Zizyphus vulgaris*) and the sketch of a tortoise. These words *tsao-kwei*, "jujube and tortoise," have exactly the same initials, finals and tones in all dialects as "early-revert," which is colloquial Chinese for "look sharp and come over to our side." In this way an abortive attempt was made to gain over the chief Tangut general. The principal obstacle to peace was (as in the Transvaal business) the vexed question of suzerainty. The Tangut ambassadors said: "When the sun is at its full meridian, it can only follow the heavens and go west; it cannot oppose the heavens and go back to the east." The Chinese objected to this language as being "insubordinate." The

next "try on" ran: "Your son's country, the Ni-ting State, its *ut-tsut*, sends up a letter to his father, the Great Sung Emperor, and changes his name to Nang-siao," etc.; but still (like the Kruger parrot of *Punch*) he would not say the word "suzerainty." In modern Chinese the words *ut-tsut* (said to mean "Khan"), are pronounced *wu-tsu*, and mean "my grandfather." The wise men of the Far East perceived this in the year 1043, and discerned some hidden mystery in the coincidence, so that we may safely conclude that at that date Northern Chinese was spoken much as it is now. The word "Ni-ting" is nowhere explained, but it may yet turn out to possess the highest historical importance. And so things went on. At last, in 1044, the King of Tangut sent up a more business-like proposal. It ran in effect: "I regret the fact that we have been at war during the past seven years; both sides have been to blame in looting over the frontier, harbouring renegades, and suborning natives of a friendly State. Your subject proposes the following frontier line (stated) half-way through the districts containing a mixed *fan* and Chinese population. I would suggest that your annual subsidy in silver, silks and tea be continued on the old scale, and I guarantee for my heirs, as I trust you will for yours, the faithful observance of these terms for ever."

The suzerainty question having thus been quietly conceded by the use of the words "your subject," the Chinese Emperor was only too glad to jump at the opportunity given to "spread himself out in good old Celestial style": "We rule the four seas to the extent of 10,000 li (3,000 miles). The land of West Hia has for generations been held in hereditary vassalage. As you now exhibit your loyalty, and repent of your error in suitable terms of oath, calling Heaven to witness for your heirs, we concede our approval, and, glancing down upon the terms submitted, hereby signify our imperial accord." A seal was bestowed bearing the inscription "Dominus of Hia" (a term above that of "King," by which rival Chinese dynasties, in their

own histories, indicate the persons whom officially they are obliged to term "Emperor"); it was agreed that Chinese reign dates should be used; that the Dominus should use the word "subject"; that the Emperor should avoid "naming" him, and should use the words "We will that" instead of "We order that"; that the Tangut envoys might trade at their hotel, and sit down, but on the side-seats, at imperial banquets; that officials on both sides should use "host and guest forms" at interviews (a stipulation secured for Consuls by Sir Thomas Wade in 1877); that two trading and Customs stations should be conceded at modern Pao-an (Shen Si) and P'ing-liang (Kan Suh), to the exclusion of certain other trade routes; and that the Dominus of Tangut should be free to appoint all his own officials. "Notwithstanding," remarks the Sung historian, with that truth which is the sublime feature in all Chinese history, "the Dominus was always 'Emperor' at his ease in his own country; no Sung envoy ever once reached either Hing or Ling" (the old and new capitals both near modern Ning-hia); "and they were always accommodated with lodgings at Yu Chou" (the first Tangut city on the road from China, near the modern Yü-lin in North Shen Si).

Whilst Tangut was thus diplomatically engaged with the "Manzi" Empire of Sung, the Cathayans were on the look-out for "compensation" in good modern European fashion. In 1042 Cathayan ambassadors were sent to "ask for explanations" from Sung, whilst, on the other hand, the Tuhun (Tungusic) tribes of North (modern) Shan Si subject to Cathay were prohibited from exporting horses to Tangut; and in 1043 Tangut was "ordered to make peace with Sung." The Tangut ruler promptly "conferred a title" (equivalent to our modern "orders") upon the Cathayan Emperor, and the returned Cathayan envoys from Tangut reported to their irate master that hostilities had in fact already ceased. The Cathayan monarch now saw *his* way to preen a little in safety, so he sent envoys to "notify" Sung of this important

fact. But three months later Tangut sent some horses and camels as a present to Cathay, and suggested a joint attack upon Sung. This was declined. Perhaps it was in order to show his dissatisfaction that towards the end of the same year (1043) the Tanguts encroached upon the Tang-hiang (Tibetan) tribes of North Shan Si, tributary to Cathay, and induced several to "come over." The Cathayans thereupon summoned their vassals of the Kerulon River—a mysterious and unidentified tribe, apparently Turkish, called Chub, or Tsubu—to chastise the defaulters. And so things dragged on until the King of Tangut "confessed his guilt," "*offered* to return" the delinquents, and was favoured with an "order" granting freedom to his envoy, who had been flogged at the Cathayan Court for "prevarication." The Chinese (Sung) annalists put a very different complexion upon these lively events. They say the Cathayan Emperor marched in person against Hia with 100,000 mounted men of the various tribes, crossed the Yellow River, and "entered the Hia territory for 400 li," occupying a certain monastery. This can only mean that he penetrated to Tami *Chao*, or some other *chao*, or "monastery," in the middle of the Ordos Desert. The Cathayans seem to have held all the trump cards in their hands, and, if they had fought at once, might easily have scattered the Tangut host; but by the Fabian tactics of gaining time, devastating the country, asking terms of peace, retiring before and watching the enemy, the Tanguts managed so to wear out and starve the Cathayan horses that the Emperor was actually defeated; "fled, followed by a few horsemen; and the King of Tangut *let him go*"—a Pyrrhic victory.

The King of Tangut died in 1048. Besides his first Empress wife, the Cathayan Princess, he had four others, three of whose names sound Tibetan, and two of whom had the rank—posthumous at least—of "Empress." The second Empress, Mu-tsang (probably Bzang), of the O-p'ang clan, was the mother of his successor; and the third was

Dame Yeli, which fact once more clearly excludes the possibility of this name being the same as the Cathayan Yelüh.

The "small name" of the next King once more gives us a possible clue to the etymology of the Tangut language. It was "Ningling-ko," and *ningling* is said to mean "joyful," and to be the name of a river junction near which his mother was taken short and delivered him when out hunting with her spouse. *Ko* in Chinese means "brother," and is colloquially used in Chinese names, just as we say "Brother Tom."

An event now occurs which is of great historical interest. The T'ie-pu-te State begged permission "to assist (Cathay) with their own army in attacking the State of Hia. Declined." So far as I can find out, this Cathayan record is absolutely the only mention of such a country in any Chinese history, and it is certain, by comparison with other foreign words, that the sound *Tebut* is intended by the Chinese scribes, and that some of the people of what we call "Tibet" or "Thibet" are meant. Moreover, two centuries later Carpini and Marco Polo both used such forms as Thabet, Tebet; and the Arab writers wrote Thabat, Tubet. Finally, the Mongols still use the variants Tübet, Tubot, Toböt. The ordinary Chinese word for the organized Tibetans of Lhása, who were first heard of in 634, is in all histories T'ufan; and I believe Rémusat is said to have found somewhere a Chinese statement (which I cannot find) to the effect that the sound T'upot is intended by the syllables T'ufan. But the Cathayans themselves say that in 1018 the T'ufan (or T'upot) King Pingli-Tsun (which may possibly mean the Ping-li Buddha) sent a memorial begging that his tribute might be sent through Hia State; and in 1051 the T'ufan (or T'upot) State sends tribute to Cathay. What State is, then, the Tebet country that offers between these dates to attack Hia in 1048? The Sung history mentions a Si-fan chief named Li Lih-tsun near Si-ning in 1016, and Si-fan (usually meaning Tibetans not of Lhása) is there used promiscu-

ously with *fan*, and T'ufan for Tibetans generally, including the descendants of those who came with the Lhása armies. The Manchu Emperor K'ienlung made a great many alterations in the three Tartar histories of the Kitans, Nüchêns, and Mongôls, with a view to "correct spelling," amongst other things, easily recognising Tibet in Tebet, and substituting the word "Tubot" wherever it occurred for "Tebet." This somewhat erratic action of his seems to have led Palladius, Bushell, Bretschneider and others to believe that Tubot (T'u-pê-t'é or T'u-po-t'é) is really mentioned in at least two of those histories. I shall revert to this subject when I come to treat of Tibet itself. Meanwhile I repeat that, so far as I know, there is only one mention anywhere of a country's name in three syllables at all like "Tibet," and that is the single instance I have given. The Sung history mentions that after 1058, and before 1065, the Kitans sent a girl in marriage to Kuksara's son. Kuksara died in 1065, at the age of sixty-nine, and it is stated that "his country used in a general sense the manners of the T'ufan (or T'upot). It therefore becomes plain that the Tebut of 1048 are simply the T'ufan (or T'upot) of 1018, 1051, and 1058, *i.e.*, the tribes of Si-ning, then under a scion of Lhása, who had been invited thither from Ouigour land. The Lhása dynasties which invited over the Hindu Buddhists Atisha and others about this time were entirely unknown to the Chinese and Cathayans. Even of Khoten the Cathayans knew absolutely nothing subsequent to 990, and Khoten relations with Sung were confined to complimentary missions. Hence we must totally reject the idea that the Dbus and Shang-shung dynasties of the old Lhása Empire had ever anything to do with China, North or South, in any shape or form, subsequent to the end of the ninth century, and up to the conquests of Kublai Khan four centuries later. From 866 to 1260 Tibet and Lamaism were as completely a blank to China as were the Franks and Christianity; nor had the Tangut monarchy ever at any period the faintest relations with Lamaistic Tibet.



In the year 1049 the Cathayans seem to have thought better of Tebet's offer, for they detained the Tangut envoy, who had arrived at their Court, and notified to Sung the existence of a state of war with that country. The Cathayan Emperor took the field in person and crossed the Yellow River, but the Hia men "bolted"; however, a month later the Cathayan General, Siao Hwei, suffered a severe defeat. This was shortly after partly revenged by General Yeltih Tiku, who, with the assistance of his Chub or Tsubu allies, crossed the Alashan Mountains, defeated a Tangut force, and even captured one of the Tangut Queens. Fighting went on throughout the year 1050, and the Cathayans claim to have taken considerable booty. Before the year was out the King's mother "sent envoys proposing as before to accept vassalage, and the King sent up an address in the sense prescribed by his mother." But in 1051 the Cathayans demanded the surrender of the delinquent Tang-hiang, to which the dowager Queen replied by offering horses, camels, sheep, and cattle in lieu of the Tang-hiang; she asked at the same time for a rectification of frontiers. Things had advanced in the direction of peace so far that in 1054 the King applied for a Tartar wife. The Cathayan Emperor dying in 1055, perhaps for that reason no marriage took place, but customary "legacies" were sent to the King by the northern monarch's successor. There are several indications that the fighting of 1049-50 described in Cathayan history is identical with that already related on Sung authority to have occurred two or three years earlier, and under the previous Tangut King; in fact, both accounts mention heavy fighting near a city called Kim-suk, the exact position of which is nowhere signalized in any work of reference I can find.

According to Sung history, the Tangut Queen-mother died in 1056, and the usual Court civilities were interchanged; but it is stated that the members of her clan of O-p'ang still dominated the King's personality. Cathayan annals do not mention this, nor is there for some years any

allusion at all to Tangut affairs. In 1057 the Sung troops came into serious collision with the Tanguts, owing to the persistent encroachment of cultivating squatters of Tibetan race in the Lin Chou region: the O-p'ang clan adopted a haughty and unconciliatory attitude when remonstrances and dispositions were made. It is a curious fact that, although this important city (also called Lin Fu) is mentioned in all the histories, and hundreds of times, there exist, so far as my efforts go, no means of ascertaining exactly where it was; but apparently it lay near the middle frontier of Shen Si and Kan Suh. The young King took advantage of the disagreeable political situation to rid himself of the domineering O-p'angs, who were arrested and exterminated almost to the last man. He then offered to abandon *fan* (presumably Tibetan) ways, to revert to Chinese official rites and forms, and to receive the imperial envoys accordingly. Whilst these negotiations were going on, the King paid the Emperor the compliment of asking for a "copy of his own poems," and, what was much more important, for students' models of the best *li-shu* calligraphy (this being the script from which the Tanguts had constructed their own undecipherable adaptation), the Nine Classics, the T'ang dynasty's Annals, and a then just recently published encyclopædia called the "Ts'eh-fu Yüan-kwei"; it is only said, however, that the Emperor gave them the Classics, China never having at any time favoured the study by barbarians of her own political history and economical statistics. In 1064 Tangut made an unsuccessful application for the restoration of old trading rights and Customs stations; moreover, their envoys, who had presumed to "ask for audience with their full suites, wearing fish tallies at the belt," were promptly taken down a peg by being "kept in the mews for a night short of provisions." A picture of one of these fish tallies, inscribed with the mysterious Tangut characters, was published by my *scharfsinnigen* friend, Dr. S. W. Bushell, a year or two ago (*Journal of the Oriental Congress*, Extreme East

Section). To Dr. Bushell is also due the credit of having first incontestably proved the celebrated so-called "Nüchên" inscription of the Nank'ou Pass (Peking) to be Tangut; and Count von Waldersee, assisted by his French colleague, would be better and more generously employed in taking a careful rubbing of this important historical relic than in making off with the ancient astronomical instruments from the capital of the wretched Manchus, after the objectionable example set by the semi-barbarous Kitans, Nüchêns, and Mongols, as already explained in the last and the April numbers of this *Review*. The Russians, not to be behindhand in "science," are in the same way carrying off all the valuable Chinese, Tartar, Greek, and Latin manuscripts from Mukden, where, however, it must be confessed they are of little use.

But to return to the King of Hia. Petty hostilities and recriminations continued up to the death of the Chinese Emperor in 1067; it is incidentally mentioned in this connection that the "Ngwei-ming mountain-tents" were destroyed by the Chinese armies, a point to be remembered in connection with the picked "mountain O" troops and the curious tribe titles of the various Kings. During these operations the celebrated scholar and statesman Han K'î represented the Chinese expeditions as Dictator-in-chief. The Cathayans record that during this year the Tangut King sent them "a present of a Ouigour bonze and some Bôdhi-sûtras in Sanskrit or Pali (*fam*)"; but the young autocrat died that year at the early age of twenty-one.

His son, a boy of seven, was duly patented King and Dominus, or Lord, respectively, of Hia by the Northern and Southern Powers. His mother, Dame Liang, acted as Regent. With the Cathayans all went quietly, but from the Chinese "an exchange of territory" was sought. The wily Celestials impudently endeavoured, in true Li Hung-chang method, to detach certain prominent Tanguts from their natural allegiance by offering them through their own King special Chinese privileges and honours; but the only

result—which, indeed, the Emperor had feared—was a severe snub from the King: “The Emperor is supposed to rule under principles of pious loyalty: how comes it, then, that he condescends to suborn the subjects of a small Power against their lawful Prince?” As neither side would trust the other by first giving up its share of the proposed exchange in land, nothing practical came of the suggestion, and the King therefore showed his temper by officially notifying his intention to abandon Chinese forms once more and revert to native (*fan*). The Chinese Emperor simply said: “Let him.” Meanwhile, the usual frontier skirmishes had been varied in 1070 on the Chinese side by a massacre of defenceless Tangut women and children, reported, of course, as “a great victory”; for several years severe fighting took place in the northernmost wedge of Shen Si. By 1074 things had, notwithstanding, sufficiently mended to permit of an exchange of envoys, and of Tangut requests for further copies of the great Buddhistic Canons. But the Chinese were always very unyielding in matters of form: the Tangut frontier officials having written a despatch asking their Chinese colleagues to arrange a certain dispute, and dated according to their own reign-style, the Emperor, when it was submitted to him, directed the authorities of (modern) Fu Chou and Yen-an to address a communication to Yu Chou (the place in South Ordos near the Wall, to which, as we have seen, the Chinese envoys always went) asking for explanations: “Moreover, an official despatch does not appertain to their quality; frontier officers are always apt to exceed their instructions when they meet to discuss a policy. It is clear the Lord of Hia is ignorant of these unauthorized doings.” At the same time, on the occasion of a visit from the Tangut envoys to the Imperial Tombs to “pour out oblations” (as the Manchu Emperor of China offered to do in the summer of 1900 for the repose of Baron von Kettler’s soul), the Chinese monarch in an *obiter dictum* took the opportunity to deprecate warfare, and to express the opinion that his

predecessor might well have winked at a usurpation by Tangut of empty titles which really broke no bones.

In the year 1081 events became more serious. It was reported that the King of Tangut had intended to cede part or all the Ho Nan (= south of the Yellow River) land to Sung. His mother's clique, however, got wind of this transaction, kept the King under lock and key, and put the man (a Chinese "reformer," apparently) who had persuaded the King in this sense to death—all very much after the fashion of the present Dowager of China and K'ang Yu-wei. Then came exaggerated rumours of civil war and of the assassination of the King. The Chinese general in command of the North Shen Si armies succeeded, but not without much misgiving, in satisfying the Emperor that "this was a chance for us such as only occurs once in a thousand years." Seven armies were hastily got together, and a plan of campaign was concerted for marching simultaneously upon the Tangut metropolis by all available routes. The younger Tanguts were eager to rush straight into the thick of the fray, but one long-headed old general of the Joubert type said: "Don't be in a hurry. There's no need to repel them. Simply sit tight and devastate the country. Let them march in—the farther the better. We will assemble our best troops around the two capitals, whilst at the same time sending lightly-encumbered horsemen (of the De Wet type) to sweep their lines of communication and supply. A big army without food will be beaten without our coming to blows at all." The progress of each column is described in detail. It is sufficient to state here that the expedition, which advanced almost up to the capital, utterly failed, fell into a series of traps, and retired ignominiously with the loss of a quarter of a million men.

The Cathayans, in view of this defeat of a rival empire, were naturally not slow to increase their own influence. Their Governor at Choh Chou (now in Allied possession) was directed early in 1082 to send a despatch to China as

follows: "Hia State sends to report to us that the Sung armies have risen upon her without pretext; the reason of this is not understood by us." The Emperor of China replied: "The Dominus of Hia State is the holder of our patent as such. Our frontier officials having reported his confinement under circumstances of great indignity by his mother's clique, explanations were required. Not only did these wicked persons fail to give them, but they despatched large bodies of troops to invade our frontiers. It was therefore a just *casus belli*. Having suffered several severe checks, they now send envoys to lay false statements before you, with the manifest object of inciting your hostility against us. We opine that you will look carefully into this action of theirs." The Cathayan history does not give these interesting letters, but simply records a month later in the same year (1082): "Hia sent envoys to deliver to us a captured Sung general" (named). General's name does not appear in the Sung account, and the event must have occurred before the terrible defeat which the Chinese sustained in the summer of that year, at a spot which seems to be near where the highroad from North Shen Si westwards through the desert towards Borobalgassun cuts the Great Wall. The battle is very graphically described at considerable length, and the Chinese, who fought well, lost 200,000 men, thus making up a total of 600,000 men killed or missing between 1068 and 1082, not to mention untold millions of wealth in money, rice, silver, and silk. The proud Son of Heaven did not conceal his anguish at this humiliation in open Court durbar. On the other hand, the Tangut realm had also been put to a terrible strain, and accordingly their general of the south-west, bearing the manifestly Tibetan name of Angsing-Ngweiming-Tsinai, sent in, without delay or diplomacy, the following manly letter to the nearest Chinese commander of a division: "It has always been understood that China is the centre of civilization, whence emanate the qualities of grace and truth; consequently, one would expect her in action and



in counsel to follow the straight rule. If she hearkens to the voice of falsehood and mischief-making, yielding to the temptations of treachery and military glory, invading the territory and massacring the subjects of other folk, then she is acting in a manner incompatible with the dignity she claims—nay, stands forth a discredit to the world at large. But yesterday was it that her troops marched forward, at the beck of the Emperor's Government, to carry on war to the utmost within our dominions. The idea of the Emperor and his Ministers plainly was that, as Hia State was bound by oaths of peace, she might safely be taken unawares; so on marched the Chinese hosts in five separate columns in order that Hia might be crushed once for all. Last year there was the great battle near the metropolis; this year the operations near the Great Wall (in Shen Si). What have been the results? Do they correspond with the hopes raised in your Councils? The Emperor's Government has certainly not failed to do its utmost and its worst against Hia; the quintuple plan of campaign and the scheme for simultaneous attacks have had their trial. You now see the attempt has failed, and there is nothing for it but to accept humiliation resignedly. I may tell you that the Hia dominions are 10,000 li (3,000 miles) in circuit, and we possess several hundred thousand soldiers. South there is Khoten, living with us on the most cheerful terms of friendship. North we have Great Yen (the ancient name for Peking); here Kitans, our powerful friend and ally. If you are still unsatisfied and contemplate proceeding with the war, do you think under these circumstances that even ten years will see the end of it? Not to speak of God's people undergoing all this misery and butchery without any fault of their own, the Lord of this State has, ever since the war began, been spending sleepless nights in thought, and he is quite ready even now to do straightforward homage and pay just tribute, as his ancestors have always done. But your officers on the frontier, in their zeal for glory, have deceived you. On the one hand, standing

treaties have been ignored ; the proper relations between Prince and vassal have been outraged ; the engines of death have been recklessly put into motion. Surely your Government must be sorry for all this ? Does it not remember the disaster to Confucius' kingdom of old, and to the Sui dynasty in more modern times ? You must feel this deeply in your own breast, my lord, and it is needless for me to insist upon it. The remedy at present lies with your own intelligence and better judgment. Why not offer a wholesome warning to your Prince, and get rid of his wicked advisers ? Hia is as willing as ever to be on good terms with China. Our Dominus and his people will alike hail with joy the prospect of peace, and surely the advantages of it will not lie with Hia State alone ? It will be for the advantage of the whole Empire."

The Chinese general at once sent on this remarkable letter to the Emperor, who admitted the soundness of its arguments, which, indeed, are in every way applicable to the present mad action of China.

*(To be continued.)*

## SIĀM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES).

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

## CHAPTER II.—RELATIONS WITH SOUTHERN SIĀM.\*

## EARLY POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

RESUMING after the above necessary digression our historical review of Siāmo-Chinese relations, it behoves us, before dealing with the intercourse which took place with the State of Sukhothai proper at a later period, to examine into the relations which several other States in Southern Siām had at the early stage now under consideration. These States, though nominally dependent upon either Sukhothai or Kamboja, enjoyed, according to the system then in force, a considerable measure of autonomy consenting to maintain political relations and to trade on their own account with foreign countries; while at times they shook off the allegiance to their suzerain, starting up as independent kingdoms, waging war against the paramount power or against each other, as the case may be, absorbing or annihilating one another whenever they could, keeping, in fact, constantly changing the map of the country. This state of things continued not only in Siām, but in the whole of Indo-China and in the regions beyond its borders, until a comparatively modern period was reached, when more extensive and solidly-built politic organizations arose out of the ruins of the old petty States. But the last traces of the feudalism that prevailed in the early days were not removed until a much later date. It is owing to this peculiar political condition of the country that whatever remains intact of the history of its separate States has become inextricably mixed up almost beyond hope of it ever being thoroughly unravelled, and that we find in the Chinese accounts of that period many petty States, which were in reality mere fiefs, if not actually provinces, of either Siām or Kamboja magnified into extensive and independent kingdoms, and others of greater political importance that owed simply a nominal allegiance to either of those paramount powers represented as actually subject to the latter's jurisdiction.

## THE ANCIENT STATES OF SOUTHERN SIĀM.

In so far as Siām is concerned, the States mentioned in the Chinese records as having entertained relations with the Celestial Empire during or previous to the seventh century, or having otherwise become known as "kingdoms" to the travellers and political envoys of that period, are, besides *Ch'ûh-t'u* or Sukhothai (already dealt with), the States of: *To-ho-lo* or *To-ho-lo-po-ti* (Dvārapurī or Dvārāvati), *Lo-hu* or *Lo-huk* (Lawô or

\* For first portions of this paper see our numbers for October, 1900, pp. 365-394; and January, 1901, pp. 155-170.

Labôt), and *P'an-p'an* or *Buon-buon* (P'han-p'hūm or P'hūm-péam), all situated in Southern Siām, near the head of its gulf. To these we might add *Lang-ya-hsiu* and other States, either in the Malay Peninsula or on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siām, whose names we have succeeded in identifying in their Chinese dress; but as the discussion of the data leading to the establishment of their identity would carry us to too great lengths, we have decided to confine ourselves in the present inquiry to the States lying within the continental part of Siām only, and shall therefore postpone our treatment of the historical material concerning the former to a more befitting occasion. On the other hand, as regards the last-mentioned, we have thought best to deal with them one by one, each under a separate heading, in order to ensure a better opportunity of discussion, and to show to greater advantage and with more clearness the rôle which each played in Siāmo-Chinese relations and in the political life of the nation.

A.—*TO-HO-LO*, OR *TU-HO-LO-PO-TI* (DVARAPURĪ, OR DVĀRĀVATĪ).

LOCATION (DUVĀRA OR DVĀRA).

Ma Tuan-lin\* locates the kingdom of *To-ho-lo* or *Tu-ho-lo*, as he variously spells its name, to the north of the kingdom of *P'an-p'an*, with which he makes it conterminous.† As we shall see in the section devoted to *P'an-p'an* that this State is to be identified with the portion of South-western Siām adjoining the Malay Peninsula, and as at the same period to which Ma Tuan-lin's information refers—namely, the seventh century—I-tsing and Hwên-ts'ang tell us of a kingdom of *Tu-ho-lo-po-ti* or *To-lo-po-ti* (Dvārāvati), which they both locate to the east of *Lang-chia-hsü* or *Kāmalankā* (Ma Tuan-lin's *Lang-ya-hsiu*, identified by us with Lankachü and the C'hump'hön District in the Malay Peninsula), it ensues that all these closely resembling transcripts must apply but to one and the same State occupying a position somewhere in the south of Siām, and that this can be no other than the kingdom of *Dvārapurī* (also known as *Dvārāvati*, and later on as Ayuthia), the only place in that region which answers to the above conditions of name and location.‡ It remains, however, to demon-

\* *Op. cit.*, pp. 529, 530. Forty days' sailing are given (p. 462) from Chiao Chou (Tonkin) to *P'an-p'an*, and ninety from the same starting-place to *T'o-yuan* (p. 530), a State placed to the west of *To-ho-lo*, and made conterminous with it, which must therefore have occupied a position on the Gulf of Martaban.

† At p. 529 the translator appends a note saying that, literally, the sense of the text is "the kingdom of *To-ho-lo* (*ut supra*), whose name is also spelled *Tu-ho-lo*. Its southern frontiers touch the northern borders of *P'an-p'an*."

‡ For the benefit of inquirers, I have deemed it convenient to gather in this footnote the principal elements upon which the above conclusion is based. First, as to the spelling adopted by the Chinese authors above referred to. The variants are as follows:

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|---|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>To-ho-lo</i> = Duvāra, Davāra, Dvāra</li> <li>2. <i>Tu-ho-lo</i> = " " "</li> <li>3. <i>To-lo-po-ti</i> = Dārābati, Dvārāvati, (Hwên-ts'ang, A.D. 629-645).</li> </ol> | { | <p>Ma Tuan-lin, <i>op. cit.</i> Date at which it is referred to: A.D. 647; but the account appears to be taken from the "New History of the T'ang Dynasty" (A.D. 618-906), composed in A.D. 1060.</p> |
|---|---|---|

strate that a city, district, or kingdom bearing that name actually existed in Southern Siām at the early period alluded to, for, so far, the designation Dvārāvati has been known to be associated only with Ayuthia, which was founded at as late a date as A.D. 1350. That an older city and kingdom so named existed at the very same spot where Ayuthia rose many centuries afterwards, I am now quite certain; this should henceforth be designated the Earlier Dvārāvati, reserving for Ayuthia the epithet of Later Dvārāvati, in order to avoid confusion between the two. This conventional provision having been made, we may proceed with our evidence.

#### THE ORIGINS OF THE ELDER DVĀRĀVATĪ.

The "Northern Annals" tell us that King Kājavara Tissa, of Takka-silā Mahānagara, in Northern Siām (identified with the present Mueang Tak), built several cities, among which *Lavō* (now Lop'hburi) and *Dvārapurī*—this latter in the Buddhist Era year 1013 = A.D. 469, a date accompanied by other particulars which concur in establishing its correctness. No word is added concerning the site where the city was founded, but as no other city of the same name is mentioned anywhere in Siām until many

4. *Tu-ho-lo-po-ti* = *Duvaravatī*, *Dvaravatī* (I-tsing, A.D. 671-695. See Chavannes' "Religieux Eminents," p. 69, note).

5. *Tu-ho-po-ti* = *Diwabatī*, *Dvarvatī* (note to I-tsing's "Nan-hai-chih," A.D. 951-960. See Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 58, footnote).

By examining the Chinese characters, it could be seen at a glance that the initial and third characters of Nos. 1 and 3 are identical, while the same correspondence exists between the second and third characters of Nos. 1 and 4. There seems, therefore, to remain no further room for doubt as to No. 1 and Nos. 3, 4, and 5 designating different places.

Now, as to coincidence of location. Leaving out what Ma Tuan-lin says, which has been already reported above, here is what the other authorities tell us:

(a) "Going south-east from *Srīksatira* (old Prome in Lower Burma, whose name, I have already observed, should probably be more correctly written *Sarī-kṣītra*), there is in the bay of the sea *Kamalanka* (i.e., the portion of the Malay Peninsula above the Kra Isthmus); to the east of this, *To-lo-po-ti* (Dvārāvati). Further to the east there is *Is'ana-pura* (Western Kamboja); to the east of this, *Mahacampa* (present Cochin China and Southern Annam)."—Hwén-ts'ang, or Yüan-chuang, A.D. 629-645. See Beal's "Life," etc., p. 132.

(b) "A country called *Srī-kṣatira*. On the south-east of this is *Lankasu* (Kamalanka); on the east of this *Dva[ra]pati*; at the extreme east *Lin-i* (same as Campā)."—I-tsing, in A.D. 691-692. See Takakusu's "Record of Buddhist Practices," etc., p. 9.

(c) Same passage as (b), said by Chavannes (*op. cit.*, p. 58, note) to occur in a note to I-tsing's *Nan-hai-chih* ("Record of Buddhist Practices," etc.), appended at the time of the later Chou dynasty (A.D. 951-960). Apparently, however, this is the same note which occurs at pp. 9, 10 of Takakusu's translation (*op. cit.*), and which is stated by M. Takakusu to be by I-tsing himself.

Chavannes was the first to suggest (*op. cit.*, p. 203) that "Dvāravatī est le nom sanscrit d'Ayouthia, ancienne capitale du Siam"; but this identification—which, by the way, is only topographically, but not historically, correct, as we are going to demonstrate—being not supported by any evidence or authority whatever, could not as yet be regarded as definitive. See, in fact, Takakusu's remark (p. 10, note). Besides, in so far as is known to me, no one has as yet pointed out the identity of Ma Tuan-lin's *To-ho-lo* with Dvārāvati.

centuries afterwards,\* when that designation was transferred to Ayuthia, we may rest assured that such a city stood on the Mēnam Delta not far from the Gulf, for such a name, taken from Kṛiṣṇa's capital arising in the middle of the sea, would never be given to an inland town.† We may, moreover, assume that its site was the same where Ayuthia arose later on, this being, in fact, the reason why the latter was also called *Dvārāvati*. Both these views appear to receive confirmation from the Annals of Ayuthia, which tell us that among the names given to Ayuthia at the time of its foundation was that of *Dvārāvati*, "because the waters surrounded it like the *Dvārāvati* of yore."‡ Of course, this ambiguous passage does not make it clear whether Kṛiṣṇa's capital is the city alluded to, or the elder *Dvārāvati* which once arose on that spot and was now but a heap of ruins; but there are other indications in support of the latter manner of viewing the question. It may be, moreover, observed that in the list of names and epithets applied to the present capital (Bāngkōk) were introduced several of those borne by the former capital (Ayuthia), but with the exception of *Dvārāvati*, which had no more reason to be preserved owing to the changed topographical conditions of the new metropolis. That an older and now ruined city had stood on the same site upon which Ayuthia was built is certain, and this is acknowledged by no less an authority than the late King of Siām, who

The only other cities known to have borne the same name in Indo-China are:

(a) A city in the neighbourhood of Sandoway, on the coast of Arakan, said to have been founded many centuries B.C. for a legendary king bearing the name of Sammuti-deva. The existence of this *Dvārāvati* appears to be somewhat mythical.

(b) *Dvar-kuti*, usually written *Thudar Kadey*, near the south-eastern shore of the great lake of Kamboja, appearing in Khmēr inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. as *Dvaravati* (see Aymonier's "Inscriptions en vieux Khmēr," Paris, 1883, p. 19).

It will be seen that both these places are sufficiently far away from the position indicated by our Chinese authorities for their *Dvarapuri* or *Dvaravati* as to exclude every possibility of identification of the latter with either of the former.

† Both the Arakanese and Khmēr *Dvāravatis* are luminous instances of this fact, being situated, the former on the seashore, and the latter on the periodically inundated borders of the great inland lake of Kamboja. The site of Ayuthia and of the earlier *Dvārāvati* is an island formed by two branches of the Mēnam River, and the surrounding plain is still yearly flooded during the rainy season, and abounds in swamps and marshes. We shall show in the sequel that the whole, or most, of this district was of old a marsh, known as the "Sanō Marsh." At the early period now under consideration, it must have been subject to tidal influence much more than at present, and the seashore must have been nearer it than in these days.

‡ Abridged history of Ayuthia given at the beginning of the Annals, Siāmes edition of A.D. 1863, vol. i., p. 4. I have here, and in the course of this paper, when speaking of the Siāmes capital and its older namesake, adopted the spelling *Dvārāvati* [and not *Dvaravati*] which is the one followed in all Siāmes documents and records. This same spelling is at times used also in Sanskrit classical works when referring to Krisna's capital *Dvaraka* (or *Dvaravati*, as it is more often called), and, according to Mr. Hall (see his Index to Visnu Purāṇa, s. v.), is not without authority. The Siāmes somehow manage to ascribe to *Dvaravati* the sense of "water-surrounded," which I fail to discern. Its meaning is "city of gates." Possibly *Dharavati*, "stream-surrounded," may have been one of the alternative names of the old city, though I am unaware of any evidence in support of this conjecture. In such a case Hwēn Ts'ang's *To-lo-po-ti* [*Dhārāvati*] would turn out far more correct than it looks. Ancient cities in India and Indo-China always had, as it is well known, several names.



had every opportunity of examining the question.\* That such a city was the old *Dvārapurī*, and bore also the alternative appellation of *Dvārāvati*—transferred to its younger successor Ayuthia—appears quite plainly from the transcriptions *To-ho-lo* or *Tu-ho-lo* (*Dvāra*, in Pāli *Duvāra*) and *To-lo-po-ti* or *Tu-ho-lo-po-ti* (*Dvārāvati*), severally employed by the Chinese authorities quoted above to designate a city and kingdom situated in that quarter. No other place is known fulfilling—like the old city upon whose ruins Ayuthia was built—the multiple conditions enumerated above, hence, I think, we may definitely identify that old city with the Earlier *Dvārāvati* of local tradition and of the Chinese authors, and with the *Dvārapurī* of the “Northern Chronicles” of Siām.

#### BUDDHISTIC PRODUCTIONS.

In the absence of any further information about this ancient city and its territory in the local records, it is gratifying to turn to contemporary Chinese sources for more details. Such as can be obtained are meagre, but nevertheless no less interesting. “The kingdom of *To-ho-lo*,” Ma Tuan-lin tells us, “forms part of the possessions of *Chên-la* (Kamboja) in the Eastern Sea. It supplies beautiful rhinoceros horns.”† “All the three kinds of cardamoms,” I-tsing adds, “are found in *Dvāra* (vati)”;‡ that is, what he calls the “grass,” the “white,” and the “flesh” cardamoms; and incidentally he informs us§ how greatly the Three Jewels of the Buddhist Triad are revered there.|| From these extracts it appears that, although originally a foundation from Northern Siām, and later on a dependency of the Sukhothai kingdom until presumably after A.D. 607, the date of the first Chinese Embassy to *Ch'ih-t'u*, *Dvārāvati* must have set up as an independent State, or at least have thrown in its lot with Kamboja, by the time Hwên-ts'ang first heard of it (A.D. 639). Perhaps it had been forced into a recognition of Khmēr suzerainty, in, or shortly after, A.D. 627, the date at which Isanavarman of *Chên-la* (South-western Kamboja) conquered *Fu-nan* (Eastern and Northern Kamboja), and made his power felt in all the surrounding countries. At all events, this dependency of *Dvārāvati* upon Kamboja could be anything but nominal and of the usual loose

\* “I beg to state that our ancient capital Ayuthia before the year A.D. 1350 was but the ruin of an ancient place belonging to *Kambuja* (now known as Cambodia).”—John Bowring's “Siam,” Appendix.

† Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

‡ Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

|| It is regrettable that I-tsing does not tell us a word about the school to which Buddhism in *Dvārāvati*, Lankachin, etc., belonged. All he says is that there were many who held firmly to the precepts, and performed the questing *dhutanga* (i.e., *piṇḍapātikangam*; going round in person collecting alms of food from the faithful; not begging as many are wont to write, for a Buddhist monk does not beg, and is distinctly forbidden to do so). This, I-tsing adds, “constitutes a custom in these countries” (Takakusu, *ibid.*, p. 10). From his statement, however, that the *Arya-mūlasarvāstivāda Nikaya* was the prevailing school in the whole of Malaya, and the *Arya-sammāsīya* in Campā, we may reasonably infer that either of these, or both, were also followed in Siām.

description, since Dvārāvati entertained relations with China, and did not become involved in the storm of Buddhist persecution which burst upon Kamboja with Īśānavarman's advent to power. This, at any rate, we assume, from the fact that between A.D. 620-630 a youngster from the district of *Ai* (now Nghé-an) on the Tonkin coast, came with his parents to Dvārāvati and there entered the Buddhist holy orders, becoming afterwards known as *Ta-ch'êng Têng*—in Sanskrit, *Mahāyāna* pradiṇa, i.e., the "Lamp of Mahāyāna." I-tsing, who wrote his biography, tells us that this egregious luminary later on accompanied the imperial ambassador *Yen-hsü*,\* and reached in his train the Chinese capital. From the context it does not appear whether this *Yen-hsü* came as an envoy to Siām or merely called at Dvārāvati on his return voyage from some other kingdom situated more to the west. This obscure point deserves elucidation. As regards the date at which this event occurred, it may be assumed to be about A.D. 650, judging from the fact that *Ta-ch'êng* died at Kusinagara in India in *circa* A.D. 680-685, when over sixty years of age, and that it was then many years since he had left Siām.

#### EMBASSY TO CHINA IN A.D. 647.

Outside of this possible Chinese mission the only instance of direct intercourse between *To-ho-lo* and China we have been able to find is that which occurred in the twenty-first year of the period *Chêng-kuan* (A.D. 647), when *To-ho-lo* is represented as having sent envoys to the Court of Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty.† This monarch commanded that the visitors be treated with great kindness. The State of *To-ho-lo* was asking for good horses, and the Emperor granted the request, favouring the envoys with a reply under the great seal.‡

In connection with the above passage about horses, it is interesting to observe that an identical request was addressed by *Hsieu* or *Siem* to Ch'êng Tsung (Timur Khan) in 1297, when the King of Siām represented that during the reign of his father presents of horses had already been sent. This circumstance tends to show that the State, now calling itself *Hsieu*, must have been, if not the very same, at least closely connected with the one referred to of old as *To-ho-lo*. We shall revert to this point in due course.

#### DECLINE OF THE ELDER DVĀRĀVATĪ.

This is about all we can gather about the history of the Earlier Dvārāvati. There appears to be no doubt that this city and the kingdom of which it was the capital ceased to exist at some time after the seventh century. It must have been either abandoned or destroyed in the course of the wars which ravaged Southern Siām at a later date, or have declined

\* Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69. The characters here given for the name of *Yen-hsü*, read *Tan-hsü*, or *Tán-hsu*.

† Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, pp. 523, 527, 528.

‡ Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 139.

and sunk into oblivion through absorption into the compages of a more powerful State. This must have been, as we shall directly see, Lavô, which, from the seventh to the twelfth century, appears as the paramount power in Southern Siām, though nominally subject, at times, to Camboja. After Lavô's decline the capital of Southern Siām was again removed to a site in the neighbourhood of the old, and its name, Dvārāvati, now almost forgotten, but the new foundation received a different name, which will be discussed under the next section.

*(To be continued.)*

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held on Monday, Feb. 25th, 1901, at the Westminster Town Hall, a paper\* was read by F. Loraine Petre, Esq. (late Commissioner of Allahabad), on "The Indian Secretariats and their Relation to General Administration." The chair was taken by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I. The following, among others, were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Lady Griffin, Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., D.C.L., Colonel E. Conolly, R.A., Mr. J. H. Garstin, C.S.I., Mr. A. J. Lawrence, C.I.E., Dr. R. Smeton, Mrs. Arathoon, Mrs. F. Aublet, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. H. R. Cook, Raizada Eshwar Das, Mr. J. S. Dyason, Mrs. Glass, Mr. Alec McMillan, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Sydney G. Roberts, Mr. Jaya Rao, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. T. Stoker, Mr. M. W. Fox-Strangways, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Mr. Loraine Petre as a gentleman who had had a very distinguished career in India, and had had an opportunity of knowing intimately both Administrative and Secretariat work. He wished also, on behalf of the Association, to express his pleasure that Mr. Loraine Petre had consented to come on the Council of the Association.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN said he was glad to see present so many well-known Indian civilians, including one who was perhaps the most distinguished Secretary of the generation, and another whom he could not look upon without some apprehension, for in one of his brilliant novels he had certainly drawn him (the chairman) as a representative of the Secretariat system, though not in an unfriendly or disagreeable way. He complimented Mr. Petre on having touched a very delicate and difficult subject with good taste and some humour. The paper was interesting, and at the same time practical. It was very difficult to say how far any Viceroy, however energetic, would be able to cut the bonds of red tape which, year by year, tied up the administration of India more and more closely. He confessed that he had not much hope, for each man as he was drawn into the ever-increasing vortex of the Secretariat learned to see with other people's eyes instead of with his own. It was very difficult for men of originality to find any place in the Government of India. At this time India was suffering in the higher branches of the service from a stratum of mediocrity due to special causes. There were a number of able young men who were coming on, and who, he hoped, would in a few years come to the front. But around them the Secretariat octopus would throw its tentacles, and year by year, it might be feared, the Indian Administration would become

\* See paper elsewhere in this Review.

more a bureaucracy of minutes and reports, and less a living thing in close connection with the actual life of the people of India. The difficulty which had been treated by Mr. Petre was that in the Provinces the staff in Districts and Commissionerships was undoubtedly weighed down and crushed by the immense mass of literary and clerical work which was forced upon District and Divisional Officers. (Hear, hear.) As a Provincial Secretary he had fought against it as much as he could. They had always felt in the Provinces that the chief blame rested on the Supreme Government itself. The enormous amount of reports on all sorts of extraordinary subjects outside the range of a District Officer's knowledge which were forced upon him, and which would require the brain of an Encyclopædist to satisfy, grew every year, partly through the demands of the Secretariat, and partly by demands made by Parliament, by tourists and faddists who insisted on being informed on some particular subject. Their demand came finally and invariably to the poor District Officer. Instead of being treated with the contempt which they deserved, these inquirers were only too often made the instruments of torture to unfortunate District Officers already too overworked. Mr. Petre had suggested that Secretariat work should be limited by a term, and that after a certain number of years' service in the Secretariat the officer, however good and distinguished, should be relegated to District work. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Petre had suggested two years, but he thought five years would not be too long. This, of course, would not apply to the heads of departments or the great officers of State, men whose ability and experience had rendered their retention necessary. But to the subordinate staff the rule should be rigidly applied. There was a Grecian myth which seemed to him to have a very happy and close application to the position of the Indian Civil Service. When Hercules was engaged in a wrestling contest with the giant Antæus, the son of Neptune and the Earth, he found that, each time he threw his enemy, contact with his mother Earth gave Antæus fresh strength, and he could only overcome Antæus by taking him in his arms and strangling him in the air. The earth, the soil, the peasant, the agriculturist, is the same to the Indian Civil Service as it was to Antæus. It is from contact and intimate, daily, hourly association with the people that we renew our strength; and if the increasing demands for reports and statistics and returns tie the District Officer and his English subordinates to their desks, we shall certainly lose our influence with the most important section of the Indian people, the backbone of our revenue system, and the class whose contentment is essential to the maintenance of our rule. (Applause.)

MR. THORBURN (formerly Financial Commissioner in the Punjab) thought that throughout Mr. Loraine Petre's paper he detected the natural impatience of the Executive Officer, the man of action, with the men of the pen, or, rather, with the whole Secretariat system. He had arraigned that system under two charges. Mr. Petre had said that, owing to the quasi-permanence with which Secretaries held their posts, they lost touch with the people, and that therefore, when they were promoted to the highest offices, they were rather theorists, or doctrinaires, than practical administrators. The remedy suggested was that Secretaries should be

relegated to the Districts for executive employment periodically, and for a considerable term. He (Mr. Thorburn) believed that some such rule had existed from very early days. Perhaps, however, rules for those at the top of the Service were made only to be broken. Good Secretaries were very rare, and when one was found he remained a Secretary, rising from post to post until he retired or was given a Province. The Viceroy, with his usual masterful initiative, had begun reforms in the Secretariat system, but he did not think that Lord Curzon would achieve more than an ephemeral success in grappling with Secretariat evils. The length of his reach would, he thought, be limited to the length of his arm, and when he expired as Viceroy his reforms would expire with him. Mr. Loraine Petre had next complained of the vexatious exuberance of elaborate noting, reviewing, and general worrying of District Officers in which Secretariats too frequently indulged. As a fact, however, the Head of a Department or Government had the power to regulate the output of his Secretariat work. The late Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab used to work his Secretaries like galley-slaves, and consequently the Deputy Commissioners of the Province had far less time than they ought to have had for the discharge of their duties as District Magistrates and Collectors. The present Lieut.-Governor showed greater forbearance, and worked his Secretaries lightly. He next came to what appeared to be the root of the whole evil, which lay deeper than the individual action of particular Viceroys and Governors. It consisted in overgovernment of a machine-like type, in what might be called excessive mechanical centralization. All the Governments of India were top-heavy. They had been built up on a wrong principle, from the top story downwards instead of from the basement upwards; were a builder to construct a great edifice on similar lines he would be laughed at. But the Government of India was never laughed at; a despotic Government regarded unfavourable comments as hostility or disloyalty, hence it rarely heard the truth. To bring home the idea of the top-heaviness of the Governments of India, he might say that formerly in the Punjab the Lieut.-Governor was able to get through his work with the aid of one Secretary, Dr. Thornton, who was doubtless a host in himself. Since those days the Punjab Secretariat had been gradually increased, until now, besides using the Head of the Police, of the Public Works, and of the Education Departments as Secretaries, the Lieut.-Governor also had a Chief Secretary, a Revenue Secretary, and a General and Judicial Secretary, each one having two or three Assistant Secretaries under him. Moreover, when there was a little extra routine work required, an Assistant Commissioner was put on special duty. Whilst all this building in the uppermost story had been going on, the workers in the lower stories, *i.e.*, the clerks in the District offices, had remained as few and as poorly paid as they were twenty-five years ago, and this in spite of the fact that in that period the work thrown upon them had doubled or trebled, and the cost of living risen about 40 per cent. A few years ago a proposal emanated from the Punjab Secretariat that the pay of the head clerks in the Deputy Commissioner's offices should be reduced, and by the saving thereby effected an extra clerk was to be granted in some districts. When giving his opinion on the



scheme, he had pointed out that most of the European clerks, who already barely received a starvation wage, were seriously in debt, and that to cut down their pay would involve a substitution for them of natives. He thought no permanent reformation would ever come from inside India. The quasi-permanence of Secretaries would cease were the Secretary of State for India to make a fast rule that no servant of the Government should be considered eligible for the post of Head of a Department or Head of a Government until he should have passed half his service in the plains in executive employment. The Secretary of State for India had recently shown his zeal for economy and reform by reducing the teaching staff at Cooper's Hill. Let him now fly at higher game than a few professors, and remove the reproach of top-heaviness from the Governments of India by reforming its Secretariats. Let him appoint a Commission with instructions to examine all the returns submitted to all offices concerned with the Government of India, from his own down to that of a Provincial Governor, and let that Commission have a free hand to propose the simplification and reduction of the returns. Then let them consider the question of relative expenditure in different offices, and whenever there was an increase in the Secretariat let a corresponding strengthening, according to the fixed ratio, be granted to the various subordinate offices concerned. That, he thought, would remedy some of the evils, and be a lasting service to the people of India and to District Officers and their offices as well.

SIR ALFRED LYALL entirely agreed with the general drift of Mr. Loraine Petre's conclusions, yet he thought he was, on the whole, a little hard on the old system in some ways. The lecturer appeared to convey the impression that access to the highest offices was almost exclusively through the Simla Secretariats, whereas Sir A. Lyall could show, by instances, that many of the Lieut.-Governors had never been at Simla. He was of opinion that there was still much room for a man who distinguished himself in administrative work to rise to higher appointments, although he had a better chance if he went into the Secretariat. He wished to know whether Mr. Loraine Petre desired to take the consideration of social qualifications entirely out of the matter, for in Sir A. Lyall's opinion it was an important element. Moreover, it should be considered that every chief administrator, civil or military, must be allowed to appoint the men he personally knows. The men who have succeeded in the army—as, for instance, Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts—had somehow always selected the men whose efficiency they had proved. They were the only men they could be perfectly sure of. It was a difficult thing for a man to go beyond the circle of the men whom he has tried and known himself. That was one excuse for what happened. He quite agreed that the reports and returns were far too many, but they must compare Indian circumstances with English circumstances. An Indian Governor had to deal with an enormous area. He was really out of communication with many of his officers. He could not see or speak with them, except occasionally. All he could do was to get reports from them of facts, and their judgments. That was how the system arose. The system here was very different, as they were all aware,

because there was ample opportunity for personal discussion. In a country like India it could not be done except by elaborate written reports, and when questions on Indian subjects were asked in the English Parliament, the only way of answering them was by obtaining full written information. To this extent Parliament was responsible for much of the system. Soon after he returned from India he was challenged by a noble lord who accused him of having kept in the Agra gaol an infant three years old, under a long sentence of imprisonment on a conviction for murder. The explanation was that, when a mother was sentenced to some long term of imprisonment, her little child was necessarily, in some cases, allowed to go with her; but such hasty charges often involved references to India and correspondence. No doubt Secretariat notes were too long, but they must not be shortened too much. Mr. Loraine Petre himself had referred to the great advantage of a well-arranged and excellent note, embodying all that was important in the correspondence, and marshalling all the facts in logical sequence; but such notes were the product of those laborious methods in an Indian Secretariat which Mr. Petre seemed disposed to condemn. Since he had been in the India Office he had felt the want of that sort of note, which did not exist under the English system, with the consequence that material facts and transactions were liable to be overlooked or forgotten. It might be in the recollection of some of the audience that a remarkable instance of such oversight occurred not long ago in the Foreign Office. And we have to bear in mind that the voluminous Blue-books on any important public question, which are constantly issued by the English departments and offices, show that in this country a vast quantity of information is collected and recorded, though in a different form, by the Secretariats. Upon all these grounds Sir A. Lyall could not advise sweeping reforms, and would impress upon reformers due consideration of the circumstances of India and the position of the Governments there. (Applause.)

MR. STOKER thought it was an article of public faith that every defect in the Indian Administration should be ascribed to the Secretariat. He found himself in agreement with nearly everything that Mr. Loraine Petre had said, particularly in his two chief propositions—that no officer should be taken into the service of the Secretariats before he had acquired acquaintance with the possibilities and limitations of Administration, and with the habits and character and language of the people; and, in the second place, that service in the Secretariat should be alternated by more or less prolonged service in the actual business administration. In the first place, Mr. Loraine Petre had treated and dealt with the method of selection and appointment of Secretaries—the functions which they should discharge, and the limitations which should be placed upon their powers and duties; and that involved the extremely important question of centralization. He had next dealt with the method in which business was conducted in Secretariats. There was a universal consensus of opinion that there was a good deal too much writing done inside as well as outside the Secretariat. The general view seemed to be that every matter which came before the Secretariat was annotated by a succession of clerks,

Superintendents, Assistant Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, and Secretaries until it came before the chief authority. There was possibly some exaggeration in this view. His experience was that ordinary business was disposed of with a fair amount of brevity and despatch, but complicated cases it was undoubtedly necessary should be treated at more length. It was necessary that somebody should verify the statements made; that he should draw up a brief statement of the facts, and give marginal references to the principal papers which it might be necessary to consult. This was generally done by an intelligent clerk. The file then passed on to an Under-Secretary, or to a Secretary whose duty it was to advise as to the order which should be passed. Here he thought prolixity came in. He thought that in a matter not of the very first importance the best method was that the Under-Secretary should draw up a draft of the Order embodying his views; that this should then come before the Secretary, who should make amendments in it; and finally before the Governor or Lieut.-Governor, who should adopt it, or, if dissatisfied, send the whole back for reference. No doubt there was a good deal of excess of writing in Secretarial files. Personally he was not so much frightened by the length of the notes as by the egregious nonsense with which they were stuffed. The remedy suggested was that each annotator should destroy the work of his predecessor. It reminded him of the physician who declared that the only remedy for a little boy who was suffering from obliquity of vision was to cut his head off. It was thorough and radical, but it did not seem to him to save time or material. Anyone who had a long experience of notes would know that the proper way was to read them backwards, to read the last first, and to stop there if it were satisfactory. It was largely a personal matter, and there could not be any uniformity in it. To English people the Indian system seemed, no doubt, cumbrous. The present time was scarcely one in which to seek for a model of perfection in the great English public offices. He doubted if the War Office at present had secured the approval of the nation at large by its methods. There was a story of a newly-arrived officer who thought it expedient to send one of his Secretaries, who was returning on short leave to England, to inspect the system of work at the English offices, with the view of introducing them in Calcutta. The Secretary reported that he could discover no method whatever in the English offices. He passed on to the more important part of the paper, and that was the manner in which it was proposed to deal with the functions of the Secretariat. There were those who denounced the Secretariat as a blot on our civilization, but he would ask whether the Secretariat was altogether the cause or the effect of the state of affairs which they all deplored. There seemed to him to be causes at work which must be sought far deeper. There was no doubt about the evils of centralization. He would suggest that the changing conditions of Government had led to the evils in question. With the growth of settled Government it seemed necessary that there should be a vast increase in the number of matters brought within the cognizance of Government and its officers. It became, therefore, necessary to multiply the number of Secretaries. No doubt unnecessary elaboration in statistics had been introduced; but the theory

that the Secretariat, like the hungry octopus, kept spreading its murderous arms, and bringing to its jaws all the departments of Government, sapping its energy and vitality, was a theory which required considerable modification. The remedy for the evil was to be found in the delegation by Government of its powers to its subordinate officers; but that alone would not be sufficient. The Governor must cut himself off from information as to what was going on beneath him. Until he did that, it would be hopeless to expect any real decentralization. He would suggest, with all deference, but with the freedom which came of retirement, that before commencing to reform the Secretariat it might be well to reform the Lieut.-Governor, and the Governor, and perhaps even the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. They had been waiting for many years for a Viceroy who would have the courage to place at the head of a Province an officer who had spent his whole service in district and division; who knew it, and was known to the people, and who knew them; and he hoped that they had found him at last. (Applause.)

MR. SEWELL said that when the question was raised as to the training for their especial branch of the service of the junior members of the Secretariat, it was advisable to remember the other end of the Executive organism. Work had so greatly increased that, as far back as twenty years ago, he had called the attention of the Government to the fact that in the past ten years the work of his District office had increased tenfold in the previous ten years. Everyone would understand the meaning of a clerk having to copy two hundred papers a day instead of twenty. And yet the office establishment remained where it was. But however much the Government might increase the number of hands in an office, they could not increase the number of hands that had to do the work in each village, and this humble but most responsible officer remained single-handed, and probably would continue to remain so. If young Secretaries in the great offices of State were better acquainted with the village organization from actual experience, they would doubtless realize that by multiplying the labour of a village accountant they might eventually reach a point where the strain exceeded what in mechanics is called the *breaking strain*, and performance became impossible. For years past he had known for a fact that at the annual settlement of the villages, when all accounts had to be overhauled by the Tahsildars, or heads of divisions, the village accountants were kept at work not only all day, but all night, snatching an hour or two's sleep as best they could on the floor of the office while the work was going on around them. And yet their labours continued to multiply. About eight years ago the Government of Madras introduced a system of State advances to aid the farmers in digging wells to supplement the water-supply for crops, and minimize the chances of famine. The idea was excellent, but a young Secretariat officer, full of zeal, set to work to frame a set of account-forms to be kept in every village for this special work alone, and these forms were, to the best of his recollection, fifty-six in number. When an unfortunate accountant was already so hard-worked that he could barely carry on the duties of his office, it might be imagined what his feelings were in receiving a series of fifty-six new forms to be filled up day by day

for his village. Mr. Sewell ventured to think that if the enormous mass of work demanded from the single village officer was better understood in the Secretariat, strenuous efforts would be made not to increase his work, but to lighten it. No one, however, could know what the work of the village officer was without personal knowledge; and this was one reason, amongst many, why the speaker heartily endorsed the opinions of the lecturer, that every junior Secretary should be sometimes sent back for a time to practical District work, so as to gain experience.

MR. ROGERS observed that great fault had been found in the paper which had been read, with the Secretariat being held by the same officer for a very long time. That was not the case in Bombay, with which he was acquainted. The Secretaries had not remained in the Secretariat so long as to forget the vernacular. No doubt the Secretariats had a great deal to do, but they were actually necessary in order to bring together the threads of the different departments into one focus. Another complaint made in the paper was that the members of the Secretariat remained so long that they got into the way of thinking themselves cocks-of-the-walk, and that nobody knew anything like themselves. He could assure them that was not the case in Bombay. Want of administrative experience was not the fault in, at all events, the minor Presidencies. He quite agreed that they should not go too early into the Secretariat, or be kept there until they got to the Head of the Service. It appeared to be the idea that only service in the Secretariat in Calcutta led to the higher appointments. That could not be the case in the minor Presidencies, because every man's work was known; and in Bombay such was not the case.

MR. LORAIN PETRE, in reply, said that, when he had remarked that the highest posts were closed against all but Secretariat officers, he did not allude to Commissionerships and local high posts, but to Governorships of Provinces. Mr. Stoker had hoped they had found a Viceroy who would override previous practice, and would appoint men of practical experience, to the exclusion of men of merely Secretarial experience. They all hoped so. He entirely sympathized with what Mr. Sewell and Mr. Thorburn had said with regard to overwork in the lower grades. He thought Mr. Thorburn's suggestion, that for every clerk added to the Secretariat an additional one should be appointed in every District, a good one, as want of funds would then check the growth of the Secretariat. Sir Alfred Lyall had asked whether he would abolish social qualifications altogether. Certainly he would not. He thought them very necessary indeed. All he had meant to say was that, sometimes, when a Government were searching about for a new Under-Secretary, they were very apt to say, "Here is So-and-So; he is a good fellow, and likely to be a great acquisition to society at headquarters. Let us try him." Such a fortuitous choice may turn out well, or he may not. Mr. Stoker had said the great objection to the Secretariat, apparently, was that it was a breeding-ground for Lieut.-Governors, who would treat their Secretaries as head clerks. That was exactly what Mr. Petre said. He wanted to have a Secretariat which would have in it men who had experience of administrative work, who could look at matters not only from the point of view of the Secretary

dealing with a head clerk, but also from the point of view of the District Officer, and who, when they rose, would not be tempted to treat their own Secretaries as men do who have had to deal with nothing but clerks when they were themselves Under-Secretaries, and with Under-Secretaries when they became Secretaries.

A vote of thanks proposed by the CHAIRMAN, and seconded by MR. MARTIN WOOD, was carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## LAND ASSESSMENTS IN INDIA.

The following important memorial has been presented to Lord George Hamilton, as Secretary of State for India, and has been sent to us for publication :

MY LORD,

In view of the terrible famines with which India has been lately afflicted, we, the undersigned, who have spent many years of our lives among the people, and still take a deep interest in their welfare, beg to offer the following suggestions to your Lordship in Council, in the hope that the Land Revenue administration may be everywhere placed on such a sound and equitable basis as to secure to the cultivators of the soil a sufficient margin of profit to enable them better to withstand the pressure of future famines.

2.—We are well aware that the primary cause of famines is the failure of rain, and that the protection of large tracts of country by the extension of irrigation from sources that seldom or never fail has been steadily kept in view and acted on by the Government for many years past; but the bulk of the country is dependent on direct rainfall, and the pinch of famine is most severely felt in the uplands, where the crops fail simply for want of rain. The only hope for the cultivators throughout the greater part of India is therefore that they should be put in such a position as to enable them to tide over an occasional bad season.

3.—To place the cultivators in such a position, we consider it essential that the share taken as the Government demand on the land should be strictly limited in every Province. We fully agree with the views of Lord Salisbury, when Secretary of State for India, as set out in his minute of April 26, 1875 :

“So far as it is possible to change the Indian fiscal system, it is desirable that the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts, where capital is scarce, sparing the towns, where it is often redundant, and runs to waste and luxury. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent.”

4.—Without going into tedious detail, we consider it very advisable that, in those parts of the country in which the Land Tax is not permanently settled, the following principles should be uniformly adhered to :

(a) Where the Land Revenue is paid directly by the cultivators, as in most parts of Madras and Bombay, the Government demand should be limited to 50 per cent. of the value of the net produce, after a liberal deduction for cultivation expenses has been made, and should not ordinarily exceed one-fifth of the gross produce, even in those parts of the country where, in theory, one-half of the net is assumed to approximate to one-third of the gross produce.

(b) Where the Land Revenue is paid by landlords, the principle adopted in the Saharanpur Rules of 1855, whereby the revenue demand is limited to one-half of the actual rent or assets of such landlords, should be universally applied.

(c) That no revision of the Land Tax of any Province or part thereof should be made within thirty years of the expiration of any former revision.

(d) That when such revision is made in any of those parts of India where the Land Revenue is paid by the cultivators direct to the Government, there should be no increase in the assessment except in cases where the land has increased in value (1) in consequence of improvements in irrigation works carried out at the expense of the Government, or (2) on account of a rise in the value of produce, based on the average prices of the thirty years next preceding such revision.

5.—Lastly, we recommend that a limit be fixed in each Province beyond which it may not be permissible to surcharge the Land Tax with local cesses. We are of opinion that the Bengal rate of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is a fair one, and that in no case should the rate exceed 10 per cent.

We have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servants,

- (Signed) R. K. PUCKLE,  
Late Director of Revenue Settlement, and  
Member of Board of Revenue, Madras.
- J. H. GARSTIN,  
Late Member of Council, Madras.
- J. B. PENNINGTON,  
Late Collector of Tanjore, Madras.
- H. J. REYNOLDS,  
Late Revenue Secretary to the Government  
of Bengal, and late Member of the  
Legislative Council of the Governor-  
General of India.
- RICHARD GARTH,  
Late Chief Justice of Bengal.
- ROMESH C. DUTT,  
Late Offg. Commissioner of Orissa Division  
in Bengal, and Member of the Bengal  
Legislative Council.
- C. J. O'DONNELL,  
Late Commissioner of the Bhagalpur and  
Rajshahi Divisions in Bengal.
- A. ROGERS,  
Late Settlement Officer and Member of  
Council in Bombay.
- W. WEDDERBURN,  
Late Acting Chief Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay.
- JOHN JARDINE,  
Late Judge of the High Court of Bombay.
- J. P. GOODRIDGE,  
Late B.C.S., and formerly Offg. Settlement  
Commissioner, C.P.

We have also been favoured with the following letter from Dr. Thornton on the subject. The letter was addressed to Mr. Dutt, one of the signatories, and deserves careful perusal :

70, Elsham Road, Kensington, W.,

December 15, 1900.

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged for your letter of the 13th instant, asking me to sign a memorial to the Secretary of State for India on the subject of land-revenue administration.

The tone of the memorial is most excellent, and there is much in it that has my hearty sympathy, and, indeed, must have the sympathy of all who are engaged in the land-revenue administration of our great dependency. But I do not feel in a position to allow my name to be added as a signatory for the following reasons :

1. The principle that the Government land-revenue demand should be so limited as to leave the revenue-payer a sufficient margin (after payment of the tax and cost of cultivation) to enable him to tide over an occasional bad season is no new one. So far as I am aware it is recognised and acted upon throughout British India; indeed, it forms the basis of our land-revenue assessment.

In these circumstances a memorial from a few retired Indian officials (however distinguished in their time), propounding it as a new suggestion to the Government of India for enabling cultivators to bear the stress of famine, will, I fear, be regarded as an impertinence; unless, indeed, the memorialists are prepared to show that the principle has been latterly abandoned or lost sight of. But speaking for my own province, the Punjab, I am in a position to say that it has been most carefully kept in view since the date of annexation to the present time. If any difficulty is felt hereafter by its peasantry in "tiding over occasional bad seasons," it will be due not to any wrong principle of assessment, but more probably to the destruction of peasants' credit with village bankers by recent legislation.

2. But even if the principle advocated in the memorial is fully carried out (as I hope it is already), it does not go far towards attaining the object of the memorial. Ability on the part of revenue-payers to tide over occasional bad seasons will not enable them, much less the mass of the peasantry, to cope with famines resulting from successive failures of the monsoon. These are exceptional calamities which must be dealt with by the State by exceptional measures, including temporary suspensions or remissions of the land-revenue demand, but not by permanent reductions of its rental.

Moreover—and this is an important point—the victims of famine are not generally (in Northern India, at any rate) the land-revenue payers (*i.e.*, the proprietors), but the tenants-at-will, who are not affected by increase or reduction of land-revenue assessments.

3. Again, moderation in assessment of the land-revenue demand is of

little use in enabling the land-revenue payers—*i.e.*, the peasant proprietors—to tide over hard times, unless they have learnt to put by or productively utilize their savings, and cease to squander them, as they are apt to do, on marriage feasts. Practical efforts by influential Indian gentlemen for promoting thrift amongst their compatriots, and discouraging profitless expenditure, would be more valuable, I humbly think, than agitating for still further reduction of the Government share of the rental, which is already far less than the share ordinarily taken in native States.

4. With regard to the details given in paragraph 4 of the memorial, I have to observe that in the Punjab, the province in which I served, it is laid down as a general rule that the land-revenue demand is not (taking one year with another) to exceed one-half the net rental, or (on an average) one-sixth (not one-fifth, as the memorial suggests) of the gross produce; but practically the Government land-revenue of that province is (on the average) far less than half the net rental and less than one-sixth of the gross produce. Speaking generally, it is about a third of what our predecessors, the Sikhs, levied from the cultivators.

This general principle of assessment obtains, I believe, in all the Northern Provinces of India. In Bombay, I am informed, no attempt is made to define the limits of assessment in terms of rent or produce, and it must be admitted that all attempts at such definition (especially in produce) are more or less fallacious. What is the rule in Madras I do not know; but the principle of moderation in assessments with the object of leaving the cultivator a substantial margin after paying costs of cultivation is, I feel sure, common to all, and I should not wish to join in a memorial which assumes that such is not the case.

Though strongly in favour of long settlements in well-developed tracts, I cannot accept the view that "no revision of the land-tax of any province or any part thereof should be made within thirty years of the expiration of any former revision." In backward tracts where the present amount of cultivation is small, and the culturable area large, the application of such a rule would involve a most unjustifiable surrender of State resources, and lead to great inequality of taxation. In such tracts a ten years' settlement is all that should be granted. Where cultivation is fairly developed longer terms should be allowed, but I doubt whether, in the present state of the currency and silver questions, it is desirable to make any cash settlement for so long a period as thirty years without some provision for re-adjustment of the demand at shorter intervals, based on septennial averages of produce prices, after the manner of a tithe assessment in England. This would be a far simpler operation than a re-settlement as at present conducted, as it would involve no elaborate inquiry into assets.

It follows that I cannot accept the principle that assessments should be based on the average prices of thirty years next preceding such revision.

5. With regard to local cesses, these are not accurately described as surcharges on the land-revenue. They are local rates for local purposes, collected (for the sake of convenience) with the land-revenue and in the form of a percentage on it, just as the district or education rate in England is often based on and collected with the poor rate. But the local cesses

are in their nature quite distinct from the land-revenue. They are collected to meet local needs, such as district roads and postal arrangements, dispensaries, village schools, etc. These needs are, in the nature of things, increasing every year, whereas the land-revenue is (*ex hypothesi*) fixed for a long period. To rule, therefore, that local cesses should bear a fixed relation to the land-revenue demand, and never exceed 10 per cent., means that local progress is to be kept in a state of stagnation during the whole time of settlement.

To this principle I cannot assent. They should be subject to revision at shorter intervals—say, ten years. In England local-rates assessments are made quinquennially.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

T. H. THORNTON.

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#### WATER-SUPPLY IN MITIGATION OF DROUGHT IN INDIA.

SIR,

I shall feel obliged by your allowing me space in the next number of the *Review* to make a few remarks on Mr. Sowerby's paper on "Water-supply in Mitigation of Drought in India," read, on the 4th ult., before the East India Association, in addition to those made by Mr. Rees and others on the occasion. (See January Number, pp. 35-45 and 171-178.)

The sense of the meeting evidently was, and rightly so, that the chief remedy proposed by the author of the paper, viz., the sinking of artesian wells, was utterly inadequate, and, in fact, he appears himself to have limited his proposal to the provision of drinking water for towns. The title of the paper would lead one to believe that we were to expect from the author's experience some comprehensive scheme for the mitigation of Indian famines generally, and anyone taking the trouble to read it will be greatly disappointed accordingly. It consists, in fact, mainly of two sets of loose estimates, one for the construction of an artesian well and one for the excavation of a tank, in the former case multiplied by twenty for ten large and ten small towns, and in the latter by a hundred to supply 100,000 people for about half a year. Now, in the majority of instances, famines in India hardly affect the drinking water, of which there is seldom any real deficiency, nor is it the case that the wells from which the people draw their ordinary supply are generally brackish. With regard to the latter's assertion, Mr. Sowerby would have been correct if he had confined his remarks to Surat, of which he had personal experience, and some few places similarly situated; but to say that the drinking water in India is generally brackish is contrary to the fact. I must remark here, in passing, two equally wrong impressions apt to be conveyed to the mind of an ordinary reader by his assertion that in Guzerat (and other parts of India?) there was a very well-arranged system of roads, in evidence of which remains are found similar to those of old Roman roads in England, the continuity of the former, though they have occasionally been broken up and cultivated, being still easily traceable. If Mr. Sowerby can point to

a single mile of road throughout the province made by former native Governments, I shall be happy to put it in order at my own cost. His knowledge of the geology of the province is, moreover, singularly defective, as he talks of trap rock being very superficial and overlying the more recent formations, or tertiary strata, the fact being that the trap is precisely of the same geological age as that of the great mass of the Syhádri Range, or Western Gháts, as we call them, and that it underlies the tertiaries, as is proved by the laterite which caps the trap being found to the north-east of Surat, interstratified with nummulitic limestones, which are well established to be early Eocene.

Moreover his assertion that the system of cultivation was much superior to what it is at present, and was more greatly cared for and encouraged by the then existing Governments, and that the output of cotton, corn, and other crops was double of what it is now in ordinary seasons, has, as far as the province with which alone he is tolerably acquainted is concerned, no foundation whatever in fact. Native Governments in India—Western India, at all events—looked after the cultivators of the soil in no other way but to collect revenue from them. The statement that the manufacturing industry carried on in England by machinery is apparently the bane of good agriculture I leave to be dealt with by English critics; in India the two industries seem to me to have as much to do with each other as the Goodwin Sands with Tenterden steeple.

To deal with the subject of Indian famines requires a far wider view and more comprehensive grasp of broad principles than could be summed up in a short paper such as that under notice. General Sir A. Cotton, whose life and work I hope to see commented upon in this Review, was the only man who ever attempted to deal with them on a commensurate scale, and his mantle has as yet fallen on no worthy shoulders. The idea that a few artesian wells and reservoirs (tanks, properly called) would in a very substantial manner accomplish the end of dealing with the problem of disposing effectually of 3,600 tons of water per acre needs no further remark than the mere statement as it occurs in Mr. Sowerby's paper.

A. ROGERS.

January, 1901.

#### KAISAR-I-HIND.

A controversy has taken place in a portion of the public press in Scotland and England with reference to the originator of the above title to her late Majesty the Queen, as Empress of India. We desire to remind our readers that at the time there was considerable difficulty as to the precise title which ought to be used, so as to satisfy the minds of native Princes in India. With the view of solving the question, and assisting the Government of India, the late Dr. G. W. Leitner, Principal of the Government College, Lahore, and founder and registrar of the Punjab University, wrote an article in *Indian Public Opinion* of May 9, 1876, in which he said:

"Kaisar still remains as one of the most formidable terms of empire that the natives know, and this is the only translation that can be adopted. It is alike 'Cæsar' and 'Kaiser,' Roman as well as German, understood in



Europe and feared in India, much on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. It is most like 'Czar,' and has, indeed, been conjectured to be the same word. It suits both sexes, Mr. Disraeli and the exigencies of translation, the novelty of the occasion, and historical associations. It is striking, intelligible, and yet sanctioned by ancient flattery as an epithet for many a Muhammadan ruler. The title 'Cæsar,' or 'Kaisar,' is, moreover, doubly appropriate in translation, not only because Cæsar took Imperator as a prænomen, a practice which his successors followed, but also because the name indicated the rightful heir to the Empire, and therefore its assumption crowns, as it were, the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India. We hasten to give these suggestions to the Indian Council, which is sure to be in a most perplexed condition as to how in the world a proclamation is to be translated into a language of which few know anything, and which is spoken by the very people for whom it is intended, whilst the only *raison d'être* of the new designation is its alleged appropriateness to the countries, the peoples, and the Princes of India."

The suggestion made in the article referred to, of which the above is an extract, was adopted by the Indian Council, and formed a part of the Proclamation made at the great assembly of the Princes of India and others at Delhi on January 1, 1877. This view is amply confirmed by Sir George Birdwood, in a letter of November 7, 1876, published in the *Athenæum* of the following Saturday. He says: "I pointed out that the *Times*, in an article of October 7 preceding, had translated the new title of Empress of India, which had about this time been proposed for the Queen, by Kaisar-i-Hind, and that Dr. Leitner had previously proposed the same translation in *Indian Public Opinion* of May 9, 1876. To Dr. Leitner, in fact, belongs the credit of having invented the Indian (Persian) rendering of the new title, which was accepted as the official translation of it by Her Majesty's Government, and proclaimed to all the world before the Imperial Assemblage held at Delhi on January 1, 1877."

Sir George Birdwood further says: "Kaisar-i-Hind is probably the only Oriental title that could, with the strictest propriety, be added to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom, and Dr. Leitner was most happily inspired when he thought of suggesting it to the Government of India. All the Oriental titles hitherto current in India were more or less inappropriate." And in a letter to the *Indian Magazine*, dated August 7, 1887, Sir George Birdwood again wrote: "What I attributed to Dr. Leitner was the actual coinage of the title. There is his exhaustive article in *Indian Public Opinion* of May 9, 1876, to demonstrate my accuracy on this point."

We consider nothing farther need be said to uphold the fact that the late Dr. Leitner was the originator of the title "Kaisar-i-Hind."

#### THE ETIOLOGY OF ENTERIC FEVER IN INDIA AND HEALTH OF THE BRITISH TROOPS IN CHINA.

An esteemed correspondent with the British troops in China writes on January 26 last that "this important subject is receiving much attention

in India and the East, and that a Government inquiry had been instituted on the matter." He is further of opinion "that the Indian Government loses every year something like twenty-five to thirty lacs of rupees by the mortality and invaliding of British soldiers, who are the chief victims." He describes the climate of North China as excellent for "Britishers; 20° of frost is nothing unusual, and the air is as crisp and invigorating as champagne." "I have had good opportunity here of studying the heterogeneous elements which compose the allied forces, and I hope we will always be close and thick friends with *America* first, and it won't matter very much about the rest. She stands first, I think, in community of language, of interests, of blood and national character, and it will indeed be an evil day if ever we should find ourselves at war with that country with its unlimited potentialities. You will be glad to hear that the native troops of India in North China have, so far at least, stood the climate uncommonly well. There are some 6,000 to 7,000 men alone (in this district), and our percentage of sickness and mortality is actually smaller than that of the Germans or Japs, who have lost a good many men already from typhoid fever, whereas so far there has not been a single case here among the British forces." These observations will be read with much interest.

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#### PROFESSOR MONTET'S MISSION TO MOROCCO.

We are glad to inform our readers that our esteemed correspondent, Professor Montet, has received much encouragement in his mission to Morocco, and that his investigations have been attended with success. We hope to be able to give the substance of his report in our next issue.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS; LONDON, 1900.

1. *Voices of the Past from Assyria and Babylonia*, by HENRY S. ROBERTON, B.A., B.Sc. This volume (219 pages, although the author calls it a "little volume") is full of interest alike to the Biblical student, the archæologist, and the philologist. The work realizes there is not only "sermons in stones," but in a remarkable way the confirmation of Biblical history. It possesses a map which gives a clear and distinct view not hitherto exhibited in ordinary maps—the relative positions of Assyria, Media, and Chaldæa, with Harran, Nineveh, Accad, the Euphrates, the Tigris, Shumir, Susa, and Ur. One of the many interesting chapters is that in which the author describes the "Royal Library of Nineveh," composed of volumes written on tablets of stone made of baked clay, "which is proof against almost all atmospheric corrosion, and which even fire and water cannot easily injure," like paper, cloth, or parchment. There are beautiful representations of many of these tablets, as now deposited in the British Museum. The longer ones are nearly flat, and in length and breadth considerably exceed one of the pages of an ordinary book, with a thickness of more than half an inch; the majority, however, are smaller, like "cakes of soap," with writing along the tops and edges. During the reign of Asshurbanipal, the grandson of Sennacherib, these volumes were arranged and catalogued perhaps as good and convenient as the excellent arrangement of our British Museum.

The contents of the author's book are composed of four parts: The Royal Library of Nineveh, The Chaldæan Genesis, Abraham's Early Home, Asshur and Israel. We regret our space does not permit us to make extracts from this interesting work. We can only refer to one—the description of the monolith of Shalmaneser, the King of Assyria, narrating his invasion of Lower Syria (see pp. 173, 174). The description not only confirms the Biblical narrative by giving us the names of Benhadad and Ahab of Israel, but it perfectly fills in the gap in the Book of Kings, and thoroughly explains what there seems so unaccountable. The volume contains twenty-four exceedingly well-executed plates, including the map to which we have referred.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1900.

2. *Khurasan and Sistan*, by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., Indian Staff Corps, etc. In this volume the author, who was for three years British Consul-General for Khurasan and Sistan, describes in detail these provinces, his journeys through them, and his sojourn in Mashhad. Leaving Chaman in Baluchistan in April, 1893, he travelled via Kandahar, Farrah, Herat, and Badghis, reaching Mashhad, the capital of Khurasan, in the month of September following.

Of his journey afterwards amongst the comparatively unknown Goklan and Yamut Turkomans, he gives a very interesting description, as also an

account of his visit to the source of the Gurgan River, which had never before been visited by an European. Very instructive are the chapters relating to Mashhad ("place of martyrdom"), and the much-venerated shrine of 'Ali ibn Mūsā ar-Razā, who was buried in Hārūn ur-Rashid's mausoleum at Sanabad, which now forms part of that celebrated shrine. Amongst other readable subjects is that on the turquoise mines near Nishapur (pp. 399-408). The work is enhanced by many good illustrations, and contains a fine map of Persia.

3.—*The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era, as illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., D.C.L., many Years Consul and Minister in China and Japan*, by ALEXANDER MICHIE, author of "The Siberian Overland Route," "Missionaries in China," etc.; 2 vols. This work, consisting of two volumes of nearly 500 pages each, is accompanied with a map of Eastern Asia to illustrate the "Englishman in China" in the Victorian era, and other maps of much interest, beautiful illustrations of persons and places, and two portraits of Sir Rutherford Alcock. Mr. Michie, from his long experience in the East and his profound knowledge of the various political movements which took place during the thirty years when British policy was a power in that part of the world, is perhaps the only man in England who could best group the whole facts of history which were interwoven with the action of Sir Rutherford Alcock as Consul and Minister. He combined the highest executive qualities with a philosophic grasp of the many problems with which he had to deal, and possessed a faculty for gauging and expounding the vital relations between the theoretical and the practical sides of Far Eastern politics. Hence the history and actions of this intrepid and useful official are full of important lessons for our statesmen, merchants, and others, who have relations with the East. The first volume contains eighteen chapters, embracing a biography of Sir Rutherford Alcock: his mission to China, the opium trade, the war of 1839-42, the treaty of that year, the results of the war, the new treaty ports—Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo—the various operations in Shanghai, the trade under the Treaty of Nanking, including tea, silk, etc.; shipping, foreign and Chinese commerce, Hong Kong, Macao, piracy, the Arrow War, Lord Elgin's first and second missions, and the treaties and their effects in 1858-60, with appendices, including confidential despatches. The second volume embraces the affairs of Japan, the British Legation in Peking, 1865-69, the foreign Customs under the Peking Convention, Korea the revision of the treaty, the Burlingame Mission, Chinese outrages missionary problems, the Tientsin massacre of 1870, the advance of Russia and France, the succession of the Emperor Kwangshu, the murder of Mr. Margary, the Chefoo Convention, the various incidents between 1885 and 1891, and the British Services—Diplomatic, Consular, and Judicial—a minute index to each volume, and interesting reminiscences of the latter years of Sir Rutherford Alcock. Referring to those, Mr. Michie says (p. 487): "But amidst his numerous preoccupations in England Sir Rutherford never loosened his grasp on the events which were transpiring

in the distant field to which his official life had been devoted. As the only competent and persistent critic of these events, he did as much as one man could to turn the eyes of his countrymen towards their most important interests in Further Asia. Nearly every passing event was noticed briefly by him in the columns of the daily press, while the permanent features of the Far Eastern problem, which are only now beginning to dawn upon the consciousness of the nation, were copiously dealt with in the monthly magazines and in the more stately pages of the *Edinburgh Review*. Sir Rutherford's contributions to periodical literature, forming a tolerably complete repertory of the questions arising out of the intercourse of Europe with Eastern Asia, would fill many volumes. As late as 1896 the subject was still uppermost in his mind. 'In China,' he then wrote, 'there is a far larger Eastern Question than what is occupying us at Constantinople. An open port for Russia, a railroad across Russia, with the French scheming for our commerce in the Indo-Chinese peninsula—the whole situation is full of danger to all our interests in China.' And during the last year of his life the thought of all that had been lost to the country through sheer neglect seemed to weigh heavily on his mind. That his constant premonitions of coming changes passed practically unheeded by the public to whom they were addressed is unfortunately true; and it is trite to say that it would have been well for this country if the warnings of such serious writers as this had been taken to heart before instead of after the deluge. But that would have been a historical anomaly, for mankind has learned little since the days of Noah." We most cordially invite the attention of our readers to this very valuable work.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; C. J. CLAY AND SONS; LONDON, 1901.

4.—*The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, translated from the Pāli, by various hands, under the editorship of PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL. Vol. iv., translated by W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A. The series of which this is the fourth volume consists of the stories of the "Former Births" of the Buddha, better known under their Indian designation of the "Jātaka." The work has been several times noticed in the European press as the successive volumes have appeared. It is one of the many attempts that have long been in process, on the part of European scholars and publishers, to interpret the East to the West—the dim past to the living present.

Each succeeding volume is translated by a different hand, and the entire enterprise is under the general supervision of the accomplished Orientalist already named. The work is translated from the original Pāli into English, and the translation of the present volume is a model of easy English, lucid, fluent, and pleasing. The list of contents at the opening of the volume gives the Pāli designation or heading of each "story," and this is followed, in small type, by the gist of the story in few words. Such an arrangement puts the reader in a position to judge whether or not the story would suit his purpose to read. In the body of the work, after giving again the Pāli heading of the story, the translator gives an English rendering

of the opening words ; this plan secures identification. The stories in the present volume range from number 439 to 510 inclusive. Throughout the work there are footnotes explanatory of obscure parts of the text, as also a goodly number of references to the foregoing volumes of the series. At the end there are a couple of useful indexes—the one an index to the names and Pāli words contained in the volume, and the other an index to the more general matters. As a piece of literary workmanship the production ranks high, whether we have regard to the translating, the editing, or the printing. In each of these departments the volume is a model of the way such work *ought* to be done.

We come now to the stories themselves. Most of them are made up of a series of other stories, which lead into and grow out of one another—very much after the manner of the stories in the “*Thousand-and-One Nights’ Entertainments*”; nor is it difficult to see, here and there, a resemblance to stories with which we are all of us, generation after generation, familiar from our childhood. Scenes of the impossible are continually depicted in this volume of fabulous riches, of gorgeous palaces, of ethereal beings—such as never had any existence excepting in the fertile brains of the imaginative Oriental. The stories are therefore of the sort with which all readers of Oriental literature are already quite familiar—stories well suited to the liking of undeveloped childhood and of callous youth. But beyond affording an insight into the kind of story that was pleasing to Eastern people that lived many centuries ago, the work conveys no information nor adds anything to the stock of human knowledge. The stories show that the grown men of those times were pleased with narratives that in these days would be voted sky-blue and insipid by a Fourth-Form girl in any well-conducted school. Indeed, grown-up men in Eastern lands show a curious deficiency as regards intellectual growth and strength. They have not developed since those remote ages whose productions are before us in this volume. To this hour will they sit together far into the night and weave out of their imaginations or memories just this same sort of inconsequent romance. Many of the stories lead to no-place ; nor does it raise the Oriental in our respect when we find that in “the good old days” of his fathers, which he so highly praises, they were no wiser than he, and that after twenty centuries of opportunity he is no wiser than they. All this is the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that in the acumen of the University student, and in the active business of professional and commercial life, the Oriental is as shrewd, as versatile, and as astute, as the exigencies of circumstance require. As to any enlightening, broadening, strengthening effect of the system of Buddha upon the mental faculties of the Oriental, such a volume as this is but a poor comment. Some of the stories are quite destitute of point ; others of them are as weak and puerile as anything in a book of nursery tales. English children of ten, and “backward,” for their age, might find these stories pass muster as childish pastime reading. We are not forgetting that the volume is but a specimen of the “folklore” of Buddhism. But it is from a people’s folklore that we gain an insight into their intellectual life, and are enabled to appraise their status. If this is the pabulum with which the followers of the Buddha



were amused in the former times, those former times were not better than these. The Buddha would appear, judging from this volume, to have done uncommonly little towards enlarging the conceptions of his followers and strengthening their intellects. Stories of the sort contained in this volume must tend to keep his followers in a perpetual infant class. We were *all* in the infant class once upon a time, but we do not *remain* there. As a piece of literary workmanship this volume leaves nothing to be desired, but when we look into the subject-matter of the volume we are still left in bewilderment as to the value of the moral and intellectual legacy of the Buddha.—B.

CASELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND  
MELBOURNE, 1900.

5. *Campaign Pictures of the War in South Africa (1899-1900): Letters from the Front*, by A. G. HALES, special correspondent of the *Daily News*. These letters are not only a record of facts, but, in the way in which they are written, are a romance. The author details his personal experience with his mates, the Australians; with the Boers as a prisoner; with General Rundle; sketches in camp, in which he amusingly describes "the camp liar," "the nigger servant," "the soldier preacher." His pages also contain his impressions with reference to President Steyn, Louis Botha, the white flag treachery, scouts and scouting, with the Basutos, the conduct of the war, and many other particulars. As a specimen of the style of the author, we shall quote a few sentences from the chapter titled "Home Again." The writer took his position at the foot of Nelson's monument in Trafalgar Square, London, to greet the arrival of the City Volunteers. He stood, he says, "as a stranger and alone—alone amidst a mighty multitude of men and maids. I saw a people drunk with joy. I looked from face to face, and in each flashing eye, and on each quivering lip, a nation's heart lay bared to all the world, for England's capital was but the throbbing pulse of England's Empire. Our nation spoke to the nations that dwell where the sea-foam flies, and woe to them who do not heed the tale that the City told! . . . I looked above, and saw the monument of him whose peerless genius gave us empire on the seas. I looked below, and saw, as far as my eyes could range, a seething mass of men, as good, as gallant, and as great of heart as those who fought and fell beneath his flag, and in my blood I felt the pride of empire stirring, and knew how great a thing it is to call one's self a Briton. . . . I have heard the music of the guns, when our nation spoke in the stern tones of battle to a nation in arms; I have heard the crash of tempests on Southern coasts, when ships were reeling in the breath of the blast, and souls to their God were going; I have crouched low in my saddle, when the tornado has swept trees from the forest as a boy brushes flowers with his footsteps. But never had I heard a sound like that. It was the voice of millions; it was the great heart-beats of a mighty nation; it was a welcome and a warning—a welcome to the descendants of the 'prentice lads of Old London—a warning to the world." Such is the style, the felicity and loyalty of all the chapters of the book, the ability of whose citizens the Commonwealth of Australasia may be proud.

H. FROWDE, THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1900.

6. *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, from Contemporary Arabic and Persian Sources*, by G. LE STRANGE. This is an exhaustive topography of the city and suburbs of Baghdad in the time of the Abbasid dynasty, which lasted from A.D. 763 to A.D. 1258. It includes its noted buildings, such as mosques, colleges, palaces, gates, canals, bridges (of boats), market-places, shrines, tombs, etc., and is accompanied by plans. The city was generally supposed to have been founded by the Abbasid Khalifah, Al-Mansur, in A.D. 764, until Sir Henry Rawlinson discovered below the normal river level walls of brickwork, each brick bearing the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar. The author cites his numerous authorities, among whom is the valuable topography of the canals of Baghdad described in the writings of Ibn Serapion about the year A.D. 900, a unique copy of which is in the British Museum, and to which he is indebted for much authentic information. The volume has twenty-two chapters; the concluding one, beginning on p. 302, sums up, in chronological order, the topographical information which is already detailed in the preceding twenty-one chapters. It finally finishes up with a description of the town as it stands at the present day.

7. *The "Oxford English Dictionary": a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society*, edited by DR. JAMES MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. January 1, 1901. Vol. iv.: *Green—Gyzzarn*; vol. v.: *Invalid—Jew*. The double section, published on January 1 last, concludes the letter G, and completes vol. iv. It contains 1,843 main words, 747 special combinations, and 899 subordinate entries—in all 3,489, besides very numerous combinations. Comparing the contents of this most exhaustive Dictionary with other first-class Dictionaries, the number of words in this part are 4,238, while Johnson's has 296 and Funk's "Standard" 1,583. As an illustration of the fulness of this Dictionary with that of even our best modern Dictionary, Funk's, we shall give the entry of each under the familiar and common term "Grog."

In Funk's it is as follows :

"1. An unsweetened mixture of spirits and water.

"2. Spirits served out to sailors or soldiers.

"'We watch two regiments on a long march to India, one with, and the other without, *grog*, and are driven to the conclusion that even moderate quantities of alcohol weaken the muscles and break the endurance.'—DIO LEWIS : *In a Nutshell—Drinks*, p. 76.

"3. Intoxicating drink of any kind, used opprobriously. Admiral Vernon, who, about 1745, introduced the practice of serving diluted spirits to sailors, was called 'OLD GROG,' from his wearing grogram—a coarse silk-and-mohair or silk-and-wool fabric."

In the "Oxford Dictionary" the entry is as follows :

"Said to be short for Grogram, and to have been applied first as a personal nickname to Admiral Vernon, from the fact of his wearing a grogram cloak, and afterwards transferred to the mixture, which he ordered to be served out instead of neat spirit. Vernon's order, dated Aug., 1740, is still extant. The statement that he wore a grogram cloak, and was thence nicknamed 'OLD GROG,' first appears explicitly in *Grose Dict. Vulg. Tongue*, 1796, but derives some support from Trotter's allusion in quot. 1781.

A drink consisting of spirits (originally rum) and water. *Half-and-half grog*, a drink made of equal parts of spirits and water; *seven-water grog*, a contemptuous name among sailors for very weak grog.

"1773. Ives' *Voy. and Hist. Narr. India*, 100: 'A common sailor . . . having just been served with a quantity of grog (arrack mixed with water), had his spirits much elated.' . . .

"1781. Trotter, *Written on Board the 'Berwick,' in N. and Q.*, Ser. 1., I. 168:

"A mighty bowl on deck he drew,  
And filled it to the brim;  
Such drank the *Burford's* gallant crew,  
And such the gods shall drink.  
The sacred robe which Vernon wore  
Was drenched within the same;  
And hence his virtues guard our shore,  
And grog derives its name."

There are other quotations, such as from Southey's *Botany Bay*, 1794; Byron's *Island*, 1823; Marryat's *Jac. Faithful*, 1835; Irving's *Capt. Bonneville*, 1837; Jas. Grant's *One of the "600,"* 1876; and Stevenson's *Treas. Isl.*, 1883.

A social gathering at which grog is drunk:

"Sir M. Mackenzie (1888), *Fredk. the Noble*, xii.: 'A grog was held every evening in the reading-room of the Hôtel Méditerranée.'"

Such is a specimen of the fulness of information and illustration everywhere abounding in this remarkable Dictionary. We regret extremely that our space will not admit of further quotations. In part *Invalid*—few there are many most interesting historical incidents in connection with the origin and use of words. This part contains 2,617 words, compared with 1,321 in Funk and 216 in Johnson. No English Public Library should be without such a Dictionary, a repertory alike of philological research and quaint historical information on almost every word in the English language. Another portion is published to-day (April 1).

ALBERT FONTEMOING, EDITEUR; RUE LE GOFF, 4, PARIS, 1901.

8. *L'Inde et le Problème Indien*, by PAUL BOELL. In his prologue the author of this work says that it is not a manual or history, much less a summary of Indian affairs, but a collection of notes made on a journey without any intention of its being published. With all its imperfections, he says, the volume lays claim to a certain merit, viz., absolute truthfulness. It is not an accusation, nor is it a defence, but a conscientious and impartial inquiry. The facts have all been culled from official sources, and verified by the author on the spot. It is not to be expected that all parties will be satisfied. The Indians will accuse him of indifference, the English of severity, and his countrymen perhaps with *Anglophilism*! The questions examined in this volume are numerous and varied. All are difficult, and some probably insoluble, which, if correctly stated, cannot fail to interest the theorician, the historian, and the sociologist, as well as the administrator and statesman.

WILLIAM APPLEGATE GULLICK, GOVERNMENT PRINTER; PHILIP STREET, SYDNEY, N.S.W.

9. *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales*, 1898-99, by T. A. COGHAN, Hon. F.R.S.S., Statistician of New South Wales. Twelfth issue.

This handsome volume of about 1,050 pages is accompanied with an excellent diagram map of New South Wales, showing by figures and colours (1) the North Coast, (2) Lower Hunter, (3) County of Cumberland, (4) South Coast, (5) Northern Tableland, (6) Central Tableland, (7) Southern Tableland, (8) North-Western Slope, (9) Central Western Slope, (10) South-Western Slope, (11) Riverina, (12) Western Plains, composed of East and West Darling. There is an elaborate introduction, showing that at the close of 1859, when Queensland was separated from New South Wales, it contained a population of 336,572 persons, and after forty years the number had risen to 1,356,650, an increase of over a million. Mr. Coghlan observes that no progress has been so real as that of education. In 1860 there were 798 schools with 34,767 scholars, representing 10 scholars to every 100 persons, but now this number has risen to 21 per cent. of the population. The increase of trade may be guessed at by the fact that forty years ago the tonnage of shipping was 427,835, and is now 2,468,591. The imports, £8,778,305, have risen to £21,669,230, and the exports from £7,780,512 to £24,957,958. To 348,000 persons in the colony in 1860 there was on deposit in banks a sum of £5,721,000, representing £16 per inhabitant, and in 1891 this rose to a total of £43,597,000, or £38 per inhabitant. Besides statistics on all kinds of subjects, the volume contains a valuable historical sketch, the Constitution, articles on climate, geological formations, mines, minerals, fauna, flora, forestry, land, legislation, employments, and numerous other topics relating to the people, their industries and finance, both public and private. It is the most complete record of any colony that has come under our purview, and does the greatest credit to the able compiler and to the colony by whose agency it has been produced.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON, 1901.

10. *A History of Chinese Literature*, by HERBERT A. GILES, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge and late H.B.M. Consul at Ningpo. This work forms one of a series of the "Short Histories of the Literature of the World," edited by Edmund Gosse, LL.D. It is the first attempt, as stated in the preface, made in any language, including Chinese, to produce a history of Chinese literature. "Native scholars, with their endless critiques and appreciations of individual works, do not seem (says the author) ever to have contemplated anything of the kind, realizing, no doubt, the utter hopelessness, from a Chinese point of view, of achieving even comparative success in a general historical survey of the subject. The voluminous character of a literature which was already in existence some six centuries before the Christian era, and has run on uninterruptedly until the present date, may well have given pause to writers aiming at completeness. The foreign student, however, is on a totally different footing. It may be said without offence that a work which would be inadequate to the requirements of a native public may properly be submitted to English readers as an introduction into the great field which lies beyond." A large portion of the book is a translation,

thus enabling the Chinese author, so far as translation will allow, to speak for himself. There is added here and there remarks by native critics that the reader may be able to form an idea of the point of view from which the Chinese judge their own productions. The translations, with the exception of a few pages from Dr. Legge's "Chinese Classics," are by Professor Giles himself. The work consists of eight books, covering general literature, classics, poetry, history, dictionaries, encyclopædias on various subjects, such as medical jurisprudence and agriculture, the drama, the novel, journalism, wit and humour, proverbs and maxims, accompanied with a bibliographical note and an excellent index. Of the eight books, (1) embraces the feudal period (B.C. 600-200); (2) the Han Dynasty (B.C. 200 to A.D. 200); (3) minor dynasties (A.D. 200-600); (4) the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 600-900); (5) the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 900-1200); (6) the Mongol Dynasty (A.D. 1200-1368); (7) the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644); and (8) the Manchu Dynasty (A.D. 1644-1900).

HURST AND BLACKETT, LIMITED; GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET,  
LONDON, 1900.

II. *Wild Sports of Burma and Assam*, by COLONEL POLLOK, late Staff Corps, and W. S. THOM, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Burma. With illustrations and maps. A joint production of much interest to the general reader, but much more so to those who love wild sport with large game, and who desire to acquire a knowledge of the habits of the tenants of the wild jungle in British Burma and Assam. It is a valuable guide to the hunter and the traveller in those regions. Colonel Pollok had thirteen years' experience of Lower Burma and over seven of Assam, and his love of sport while discharging his duties led him to many spots and scenes which the ordinary traveller cannot hope to realize, while Mr. Thom spent eleven years in the two provinces now one. These sportsmen maintain there is no country, not even Africa, where there is more and varied game than Assam and Burma. The people of Assam are preferable to Africans, and all Europeans who have come in contact with the Burmese prefer them to most Asiatics. The illustrations are varied, well executed, and very numerous.

Colonel Pollok was fond of snipe-shooting in India. He says: "Those who are too lazy and devoid of energy pronounce it unhealthy, but all I can say is that some of the best-worn and healthiest men in India even after forty years' service are those who have been devoted, not only to big-game shooting, but also have been ardent and constant followers of the long-bills. Of course, if people whilst snipe-shooting drink brandy panee, smoke incessantly, wear linen, sit in their wet clothes when they get home, probably in a draught or under a punkah, or do other foolish things, they must expect to get ill, as they deserve to do; but for a healthy man, who is also ordinarily prudent, not only no harm, but positive benefit, will be derived from following such sport." The following is his description of one of his adventures in hunting for rhinoceroses: "Arriving within half a dozen paces, I saw a spectacle which made my heart throb at a

tremendous pace—a rhinoceros lay submerged in the mud, with its ears and the top of its head occasionally showing as it rolled about from side to side, uttering each time its nostrils and mouth rose above the surface low, peculiar, long-drawn grunts. I cautiously withdrew, and beckoned to Maung Hpe (his *shikarie*) to approach a little closer, so that he might be of some assistance in case of a charge, and, after seeing him ensconced behind a tree within a few yards of the wallow to my right, I took a steady aim for what I took to be the shoulder of the animal, but which afterwards turned out to be its stomach, and fired. A tremendous grunting, screaming, snorting, and splashing ensued after my shot, and I was so near to the wallow that several splashes of mud struck my hat and coat. The rhino, after making several rapid gyrations in the wallow, as if trying to bite its own tail, shot out of the pit through mud two or three feet deep, and rushed down the side of the hill as fast as any pig could travel, followed by a second bullet from me and a right and left from Moungh Hpe, all of which, as I afterwards found, took effect in various parts of the body. Notwithstanding all this, we had a long, stern chase, the rhinoceros keeping up a tremendous pace for nearly three miles, and leading us through some of the most awful jungle which it has ever been my fortune to travel over. All things must, however, come to an end some time, and we eventually came up with him standing stock-still on the side of a deep ravine looking very sick. I was very thankful we had come up with him, as I am certain that I should not have been able to keep up the pace another mile over such country as that we had traversed, encumbered as I was with the heavy 8-bore. I was literally dripping from head to foot, and almost blinded with perspiration from the violent exercise we had just undergone, enhanced by copious draughts of icy water *en route*. As the rhino was standing facing away from me, I worked cautiously round till I could obtain a good shoulder shot. I succeeded in getting partially round, but was discovered by the brute, which wheeled round with a loud grunt and walked quickly with lowered head towards me. This was a most unusual proceeding, and entirely unexpected, for I was always under the impression that a rhino was a harmless beast. As may be imagined, I did not wait to see any more, but delivered a quick right and left. On the smoke clearing away, I saw that the rhino had not only come to a stand-still, but was about to fall; in fact, after a preliminary roll or two from side to side, a loud gasping sigh as it collapsed slowly on to its knees proclaimed its decease."

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ERMANN LOESCHER & Co.; ROME, 1900.

12. *Monte Singar, storia di un popolo ignoto. Testo Siro-caldeo e traduzione italiana*, by Samuele Giamil, Procurator-General of the Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans in Rome. This is an Italian translation, published for the first time, of the religion of the Yazidis, taken from a Syro-Chaldean text (which also accompanies it) and recopied from the original MS. in the library of the Chaldean Convent of Rabban Ormisda. This MS. was the work of an Oriental Roman Catholic priest, who had been able to discover and had put into writing the secrets and the religious



customs of a semi-pagan people, who are still to be found in Assyria, and are known by the name of Yazidi, a designation derived, according to the Turks, from the famous second Ommiad Khalifah, Yezid I. There are ten chapters, each in the form of dialogues.

LUZAC AND CO., GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON; G. A. NATESAN AND CO., ESPLANADE ROW, MADRAS.

13. *Shakespeare's King Lear and Indian Politics*, by WILLIAM MILLER, C.I.E., D.D., LL.D., Principal of the Madras Christian College, Member of the Madras Legislative Council, and Fellow of the University of Madras. It would appear that Principal Miller has made it a practice, for the past thirty years, to expound to his senior students one of Shakespeare's plays, and to deduce therefrom practical lessons—moral, social, and political. The above volume contains the substance of what he taught from "King Lear," and is dedicated to former students of his own college, as well as those of other colleges and Universities in India, and to all who take an intelligent interest in the healthy progress of the Indian community. His analysis of the dispositions and other specialities of the various characters of the play is acute and valuable—useful not only to students in India, but to the intelligent student at home. He truly observes on what the play represents, that "it is by the moral discipline of the home, by the influence of parents upon children, of children on one another, and also of children on their parents, that the unselfish love which is at the root of all social good is awakened, trained, and made effective. When family life is not controlled by moral laws and directed to moral ends, there is no hope of a high tone in the community at large." These sentiments ought to be pondered both in England and in India. Referring to Cordelia and Lear, he says they "have sorrowed and have failed; but their sorrow and failure are not in vain, even so far as concerns this visible scene of mortal doings." Love in its largest and widest sense has done its work in them, and it has also worked with some effect through them; and whatever be its issue as regards worldly success or worldly honour, yet "love never faileth." In applying this sentiment to political action, he points out that ambition or selfishness, corruption or intrigue, an absolute or a tyrannical power, and submissive and unreasoning obedience, will ultimately result in ruin. That the healthy life of the body political must be based on moral principles, and the education of a people, although slow, must be based on the same principles; and therefore, with reference to Kent, he remarks, "that even those in whom 'love' is strong, and who have no personal ends to serve, may be tempted to fall back on outward force for the cure of evils, which force can no longer cure. It is the deeply-injurious mistake of the noble and true-hearted Kent. To steer between the Scylla of too soon and the Charybdis of too late, in effecting the transition from the lower to the higher stage of social and political organization, will be the perilous but honourable task of those in charge of the destinies of India in the years immediately before us." We regret we cannot bestow more space, but we trust we have given some indications of the great value of such observations

and criticism to the rising intelligent youth of India, and to those who are charged with the laws and ministration of Indian affairs, whether they be native or Imperial rulers.

14. *Contributions towards Arabic Philology*, by DR. PAUL BRÖNNLE. "The Kitāb Almaksūr Wa'l-Mamdūd," by Ibn Wallād. A treatise, lexicographical and grammatical, from manuscripts in Berlin, London, Paris. Edited with text, critical notes, introduction, commentary, and indices, by Dr. Paul Brönnle. This is the first of an interesting series of ten parts intended to be published of some important works of the earliest Arabic authors. The editor intends to give from time to time the result of his investigations in various branches of Arabic philology as the series proceeds. The following are the manuscripts which he proposes to edit and illustrate by footnotes; the Arabic text will be well printed, abounding with many useful and critical notes: manuscripts by Ibn Wallād, al-Zajjaj, Ibn Khālawaih, 'Alī Ibn Ḥamza, al-Ḳuṭrub, al-Hunā'ī, Abū Darr, and al-Rabā'ī.

15. *An Egyptian Calendar for the Koptic Year 1617 (1900-1901 A.D.), corresponding with the Mohammedan Years 1318-1319*, by ROLAND L. N. MICHELL, B.A. (Oxon.). This is a new edition of what the author published in 1877, with much information interesting not only to the astronomer, meteorologist, archæologist, Muhammadan, and Koptic, but also to the many visitors to Egypt from England and America. Besides a history of the Koptic and Muhammadan almanacs, there are many quaint, amusing, and useful observations on the calendar itself on almost every day of the year. There are also a diary for the week in Cairo, the hours of Muslim prayer, a special diary for the month of Ramaḍān, fortunate and unfortunate days, tables of the ancient Egyptian calendar, Arab months and seasons, also showing the correspondence of Muhammadan and Gregorian years 1902-1905 A.D., the recognised mīlids (birthday festivals of prophets, saints, etc.) in Egypt, an index, and a very learned, exhaustive, and useful glossary of terms, which will serve as a local gazetteer; a short biographical dictionary of sacred and historical persons, a concise statement of popular customs and superstitions, and a notation of natural phenomena and agricultural requirements according to the several seasons of the year, much of which are retained at the present time, from the ancient times of the Pharaohs. The volume is printed in excellent type, and in every way convenient for reference.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK AND BOMBAY, 1900.

16. *The Great Famine and its Causes*, by VAUGHAN NASH. Mr. Nash, as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, spent eleven weeks in visiting several famine-stricken areas of India, and gave the result of his observations and inquiries in the form of letters to the *Guardian*, which are now reproduced in a very readable volume. It is accompanied with several illustrations, and a map showing famine areas. He begins with the areas around Bombay, going on through famine districts to Gujerat, the Panch Mahals. Marwar, and Jaipur, the Punjab, and various other territories

suffering from this dreadful scourge. Only one on the spot can realize the terrible sufferings of the people, young and old, and the anxious and laborious efforts of Government officials and rulers of native States to relieve them. Their patience is in many cases past belief. Mr. Nash says: "Never was people afflicted like this people, but words cannot describe their patience and resignation, their child-like sweetness and docility, their gratitude for a word or look of comfort. When a man has seen all this, and has seen, besides, half-savage parents with the death-pangs at their heart comforting their dying children, he understands why it is that Englishmen and Englishwomen will work for India till they drop." In the course of Mr. Nash's descriptions, he states many of the beneficent means—irrigation, reform in land assessments, checking the avarice of money-lenders, and encouragement to the cultivators of the soil—all worthy of the closest attention of the Indian Government and the rulers of native States. A perusal of the book cannot fail to convince the reader that no other country in the world could have done more for the inhabitants of India than the British Government, and yet a great deal remains to be done, not only to relieve suffering, but also to institute means whereby the recurrence of such an appalling scourge may be averted. For this end Mr. Nash's work is of great value.

17. *Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life*, by STANLEY P. RICE, Indian Civil Service (1901). No apology by the author was needed for the publication of these Essays. Everything which is set down in his pages he has either seen himself or has been told by the people in their own language, which is a blend of Sanskrit and Hindustani. The language of Uriya has not progressed, and the nation itself, as the author has shown, is still in many ways in the infancy of civilization. The Uriyas of Ganjam inhabit a long and narrow district in the extreme north of the Presidency, 300 miles from Calcutta and 600 miles from Madras—a district to which till lately access could only be had by sea—whose main port is an open roadstead always dangerous and often impracticable. Mr. Rice found that the Uriya is for the most part a law-abiding citizen, not complaining and not turbulent, comparatively faithful in his domestic relations, and, above all things, sober. The Uriyas in the hill tracts and at the foot of the hills, it is true, are wilder than their brethren of the sea-coast. But they are not a criminal tribe; their turbulence expresses itself in open revolt. They are not the enemies of the human race as are the cattle-lifters and highway robbers of the southern districts. The Uriya does not disturb the safety of the public. There is an interesting chapter on the Khonds and Savaras of the Ganjam district, who have in many respects the same manners, customs, and language as those of the Uriyas, as also on the legends connected with the river Kaveri, which rises in the mountains of Coorg, falling into the sea in the district of Tanjore, after following a course of some 400 miles. His visit to and his expedition with the fishermen of the East Coast, and their very primitive ways, are amusing. The perusal of this interesting volume affords much quaint and valuable information of a people and country almost unknown to the officials and travellers in India.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON.

18. *The Story of the Uganda Protectorate*, by GENERAL F. D. LUGARD, C.B., D.S.O. A short but a well-told story, forming part of the "Empire Series." It describes the country and its people; national legends and early history; the Arab and European discoverers; the King and the struggle of the three creeds, Muhammadanism, Romanism, and Protestantism; the advent of the Imperial British East African Company; the declaration of the Protectorate; the conquest of Unyoro; the scheme for constructing a railway from the sea to the great lake; the mutiny of the Sudanese; statistics of the missionary staffs; and a minute and useful index. General Lugard sums up the whole as follows: "The rivalry of contending religions has been the bane of the country, though the results achieved by both Christian, (Roman and Protestant) missions have in themselves been splendid. The Katikiro (a head-man) now transacts his business with paper and pen, and copying clerks around him, while every chief considers it a disgrace to be unable to read and write; and far more important than this are the ideas of truth, mercy, and justice which the native Christians have learnt. Another evil has been the lack of continuity in the administration of the country. No individual has remained continuously in control, since the time of the Company's rule, for more than a few months at a time. This, which in a settled country with a well-understood system of administration would not be advantageous, has in a land like Uganda been positively fatal. It is to be hoped that the experience gained at the cost of so much blood and treasure in the troublous times through which the country has passed will guide the conduct and the policy of the future, and that Uganda, which from its geographical position, the intelligence of its people, and its progress in civilization and Christianity, must form the key to Central Africa, will soon take its place as one of the most progressive and valuable of the outlying dependencies of the British Empire."

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1901.

19. *China: Her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by E. H. PARKER, Reader in Chinese University College, Liverpool; formerly H.M. Consul at Kiungchou, and in 1892-93 Adviser of Chinese Affairs to the Burma Government. With maps. This is a special and unique work. The author, from his long personal experience in almost every portion of China, has compiled his historical, commercial, and social facts from Chinese original records, his personal visits and acquaintance with China, and public documents. He had passed a quarter of a century at many of its ports, had travelled thousands of miles in many of its provinces, spent a couple of years in Corea, and one in Burma, as well as visiting Siam, the Malay Peninsula, India, the Dutch Islands, and many other places where Chinamen are found. He says: "I have seen the Celestial in all these strange lands under the conditions depicted by the historians, and I have been struck correspondingly with the fidelity of the Chinese annals." And most certainly he has made good

use of his experience in giving, by this work, to the British settler and trader an intelligent acquaintance with his new home and his customers. The glossary of terms, the copious index, and the special and extremely well-executed maps to illustrate the various provinces, their extent, their population, and revenue in 1898, the early trade routes by sea and land, the treaty ports of Corea, the position of all ports and marts open to foreign trade, and a variety of other subjects, and also a general map of the whole country (after Bretschinder), will enable the reader to follow Mr. Parker through all the important and interesting subjects of which the volume treats. Besides an appendix on the Chinese calendar, there are fifteen chapters on Geography; History; Early Trade Notions; Trade Routes; the Arrival of Europeans in China; the Relation of the Chinese in Siberia, and their Contact with the Russians; Modern Trade with Europeans, and Free Ports; the Government of the Country, both Imperial and Provincial; the Population; the Revenue; the Salt Industry; the Origin and Prevalence of Likin; the Army; the Personal Characteristics of the Chinese, and their Religion and Rebellions. Mr. Parker thinks there are three things wanted in China in connection with financial reform—"a few hard-headed Scotchmen as chartered accountants, a few Ulster Irishmen as managers and masters of 'blarney,' and one or two genuine Englishmen (Lancashire, of course, by preference) to see fair play"! The volume is replete with information on all subjects connected in particular with the trade of the country, and its relation with foreign countries by treaties and otherwise. In short, it is a valuable guide to all who have, or who wish to have, commercial dealings with the country, as well as to the traveller and the politician.

20. *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in 1860*, by the late HENRY BROUGHAM LOCH (Lord Loch). Third edition, with illustrations. At the present time the republication of this interesting volume is opportune. There is a short preface by Lady Loch, stating that she has been persuaded to yield to the proposal of Mr. Murray that a third edition should be published, and she adds: "I believe there is nothing in the book he (Lord Loch) did not feel to be perfectly accurate, and that he had no wish to change any part of it." The narrative is simply told, affording important information on the Convention at Peking leading up to the ratification of the Treaty of Tien-tsin. There are three illustrations—a portrait of Lord Loch, the Pah-li-Chiou Bridge, inside of the Taku Fort—and a map illustrating the march to Peking. The narrative of Lord Loch's arrest as a prisoner under a flag of truce along with Mr. Parkes, and the atrocities they endured in prison, will be read with as much freshness as when first published. We can only give a few sentences, exhibiting only a portion of the cruel treatment which they received. Heavy chains were first placed round their necks, and then they were ushered into separate cells or apartments, with iron implements lying on a table, and the walls hung with chains and other disagreeable-looking instruments, the use of which it was unpleasant too closely to investigate. On one side of the room was a low bench, at each end of which was a small windlass, round which a rope was coiled

The use to which this machine might be applied admitted of no doubt. "On entering," says Lord Loch, "I was shoved down on my knees before the table, a man on either side laying hold of my hair and beard. A number of questions were asked me, but, as I did not understand Chinese, I could not answer them, and each time I failed to reply I got kicked and cuffed. . . . An iron collar was secured round my neck, with a heavy chain extending to my feet. I was then led away to a courtyard, where I found Parkes seated on a bench, having irons fixed on his ankles. They would not allow us to speak. Double irons were then attached to my ankles, the chain between being only about three inches long, and this was passed through one of the links of the chain from my neck. We were then led away in different directions." When the gaoler opened the door of this horrid place, Lord Loch was surrounded by a savage lot of half-naked demons, the lowest class of criminals, guilty of murder and other serious offences. The bed was a wooden bench about eight feet from the wall, sloping a little toward it. Chains hung down from several beams, reaching nearly to the bench. His elbows were pinioned, and handcuffs fixed on his wrists, the short chain connecting them being passed through a link in the one which descended from his neck to his feet. He was laid down on the bench with his feet towards the wall, directly under one of the chains hanging from the beam above. To this the chain round his neck was attached, and he was thus only able to lie flat on his back, and even this was painful with his elbows pinioned. The cruel treatment he received, his sufferings, anxieties, and providential release, are greater than can be imagined. In this case facts are stranger than fiction, and we must refer our readers to the narrative itself.

The policy laid down by Lord Elgin is minutely stated, and Lord Loch expresses the following opinion: "So long as the Chinese governing classes are convinced of our determination and power to punish any breach of faith, or departure from the strict rules of justice, and we, in our intercourse with them, while respecting their susceptibilities and prejudices, insist with firmness on a due observance of all rights acquired by treaty, pursuing the same principle of action that would characterize our conduct in dealing with the great European Powers, I believe the Chinese Government will carry out with loyalty the engagements it has accepted." On this, as well as on other important points, we specially refer our readers to the book itself.

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OLIPHANT, ANDERSON AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1900.

21. *The Siege in Peking: China against the World*, by an Eye-witness, W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D., President of the Chinese Imperial University, author of "Cycle of Cathay," etc. This interesting volume is dedicated to the memory of the brave men who died in defence of the Legations during the siege, and of those who fell in the rescue. It is accompanied with an excellent map, giving a bird's-eye view of the disturbed area and of the city of Peking, showing how the allied forces effected an entrance to the relief of the Legations, as also an appendix, consisting of valuable documents illustrating the views referred to in the



body of the volume. The purport of the volume may be gathered by the subjects of the eight chapters on the Eight Banners of the Allies, and the Eight of the Manchus; the Emperor and the Reform Party; the Empress Dowager and her Clique; the Boxers and their Allies; the Siege of the Legations—their Sufferings and Heroism; the Rescue and Retribution; and the Scheme of the Author for Reconstruction. To realize the anxiety and privations of the members of the Legations, and those who were under their care, the reader must peruse the volume itself. Many of the details have not hitherto been made known. The author's scheme of reconstruction may be summed up under the four following heads: (1) To undo the mischief done by her, let the Empress-Dowager be sent into exile, and let the Emperor be restored to his proper authority, subject to a concert of the great Powers; (2) let all the acts of the Empress-Dowager, beginning with her *coup d'état*, and including the appointment of her partisans, be cancelled, except such as are approved by the new administration; (3) let the Emperor's programme of reform be resumed, and carried out with the sanction of the Powers; (4) let the Powers make out their spheres of interest, and each appoint a representative to control the action of provincial governments within its own sphere. These views are discussed and confirmed by the author's long residence in China, his thorough knowledge of Chinese character, and especially the designs of the Empress-Dowager and her Court, their servants and accomplices, the Boxers, and his lofty aspirations with respect to an enlightened scheme of education to be established throughout the whole country. The volume contains numerous illustrations. It deserves the closest perusal and attention by all the Great Powers, and those who desire the peace settlement on a permanent basis and the future prosperity of the Chinese Empire.

22. *China's Only Hope: an Appeal*, by her greatest Viceroy, CHANG CHIH-TUNG, with the sanction of the present Emperor, Kwang Sü. Translated from the Chinese edition by SAMUEL I. WOODBRIDGE. Introduction by GRIFFITH JOHN, D.D., of the London Mission, Hankow, 1901.

Dr. John, in his introduction, informs us that Chang Chih-Tung, the Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan, occupies a unique place among the officials of China at this time. He is a man of profound scholarship, wide information, as indicated in his book, great mental energy and restless activity. He is endowed with a strong will, and no little courage and daring. As a public officer he is distinguished for his loyalty, his purity and unselfish devotion to the good of the people under his jurisdiction, and to the well-being of the Empire at large. In one respect he is looked upon as a phenomenon among the officials of his day. He is a Chinese to the backbone. His aim in writing his book is to show that his country is in danger of perishing, and how it is to be saved is the momentous question which he discusses in a very remarkable way. He points out with an unsparing hand the corruption, the indolence, selfishness, and greed of the officials, and endeavours to bring the populace back to the real and pure principles of Confucius as their standard of morals and actions. The book indicates that this Viceroy is exceedingly well acquainted with the ways and policy of Western natives, exhibiting what is good, to be adopted, and what is bad,

to be rejected. The translator informs us that the work met with such an enthusiastic and eager reception by the Chinese that "we can safely estimate the number of copies distributed at a million. The issues are so live, the interest so intense and exciting, and so new and fresh withal, that its contents have been devoured with the greatest avidity by the Chinese scholars long accustomed to the dry bones of the ancient Kings, and the moribund and somniferous platitudes (of interpretation of the principles) of Confucius. The work in the original, says the translator, is written in "a faultless style, and displays much prolonged and careful thought, both as to matter and diction, and has been translated into French by the Jesuits in China." The pungency of the writer may to some extent be appreciated by the following short sentences: "The Conservatives (of China) are evidently off their food from inability to swallow, whilst the Liberals (of China) are like a flock of sheep who have aimed at a road of many forks, and do not know which to follow. The former do not understand what international intercourse means; the latter are ignorant of what is radical in Chinese affairs. The Conservatives fail to see the utility of modern military methods, and the benefits of successful change, while the Progressionists, zealous without knowledge, look with contempt upon our widespread doctrines of Confucius. Thus, those who cling to the old order of things heartily despise those who even propose any innovation, and they in turn cordially detest the Conservatives with all the ardour of their Liberal convictions. It thus falls out that those who really wish to learn are in doubt as to which course to pursue, and in the meantime error creeps in, the enemy invades our coast, and consequently there is no defence and no peace." Hence he says, "If we wish to make China powerful and capable of resisting foreign nations, we must cherish loyalty and righteousness, and unite ourselves under the Imperial dignity and power. This is the unchangeable truth of the past and the present, both in China and abroad." This enlightened Viceroy not only treats of morals, but also intercourse with Western nations, acquiring knowledge by travel, the establishment of schools, the translation of foreign books, the circulation of newspapers, the organization of an army, religious toleration, and many other subjects relating to an enlightened and liberal Imperial policy. An attentive perusal of the book will amply recompense the reader, and impress the conviction that there is much in store for the future welfare of the country.

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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK AND LONDON: THE KNICKERBOCKER PRESS.

23. *The Rockies of Canada*, by WALTER DWIGHT WILCOX, F.R.G.S. This is a revised and an enlarged edition of the author's well-known work titled "Camping in the Canadian Rockies." It is a handsome volume, affording much interesting and pleasing information on the "Canadian Alps," lakes, valleys, hunting and fishing, and the native Indians. The author considers that "no other mountains in the world combine with greater charm in gentle beauty of placid lakes, of upland meadows, gay with bright flowers, or the vast sweep of green forests, with the stern

grandeur of rugged cliffs, snow-fields, and magnificent peaks." The work is beautifully illustrated by many photogravure and half-toned plates from original photographs taken by the author himself in his frequent visits. Two maps accompany the volume, one a special contour map showing the details of the country near Lake Louise, and the other a general map of the mountains compiled from all the best maps hitherto published, supplemented by several sketches taken by the author. There is also an interesting appendix, giving minute information on the characteristics of the region about Lake Louise, a history of the first ascents of some of the principal mountains from 1887 to 1899, and a copious index. The work will form a handsome gift-book, as well as a valuable guide to the explorer and traveller in those mountainous regions.

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SANDS AND CO., 12, BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

24. *Animals of Africa*, by H. A. BRYDEN, author of "Gun and Camera in Southern Africa," "Kloof and Karroo," etc. Illustrated by E. Caldwell. The intention of the volume is to fill up a gap in modern natural history literature between the more advanced manuals for adult readers and the one-syllable picture-books of the nursery. It is one of the series of "The Library for Young Naturalists," edited by F. G. Afalo, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. Mr. Bryden has executed his task with care and precision, and the numerous illustrations of the animals of Africa are very clear and well done. The volume covers the mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, fishes, and invertebrates, with an excellent index. There is an animal not generally known in England called the klipspringer. Mr. Bryden says: "This charming little antelope is found in many parts of the Dark Continent from the Cape Colony to the mountains of Abyssinia. In size about on a par with a half-grown lamb, it has a sturdy frame, a handsome coat of a dark olive colour, curiously grizzled, a beautiful head, large dark eyes, and sharp, straight, stiletto-like horns between three and four inches in length. The female is hornless. Two points are specially worth noting about this little antelope. The first is that the coat is composed of thick and curiously brittle hair, each separate hair being hollow. It has been suggested that this thick, elastic coat is a protection to the body against the falls which may sometimes occur to this hardy mountaineer in its wonderful jumps from cliff to cliff and from ledge to pinnacle. The skin is highly prized by the Dutch farmers at the Cape, and they use the hair for stuffing saddles. Another peculiarity is that its hoofs are vertical or upright, so that the animal walks on tiptoe. No other antelope possesses this peculiarity. There is no surer-footed mountaineer in the world than this active and daring creature. We cordially recommend the volume to all young naturalists.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Report on Famine Operations in the Bhavnagar State in 1899-1900* (Bombay: Printed at the *Times of India* Press). His Highness Shri Bhavsinghji, the Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar, having made a tour of in-

spection in the most affected districts in his important State of Bhavnagar (a model of native States) gave instructions to institute numerous operations of relief. His secretary has now presented a very valuable report, and, in order to make it a permanent record for future reference, information is given with respect to the physical character and resources of the State, a brief account of previous famines in Kathiawar, and a minute description as to the origin and progress of the recent famine, the measures adopted for its relief—charitable, public works, and other measures—its effect upon public health, and the condition of the people of the State as they emerged from this great calamity.

This famous State is at the head of the west side of the Gulf of Cambay in the Kathiawar Peninsula, with an area of about 2,860 square miles and a population of nearly half a million. The crops consist chiefly of cotton, jowari, bajri, wheat, grain, oil-seeds and sugar-cane, and pulse and millet. Tobacco is also grown in small quantities. Of the population, 59,800 were severely affected, 164,000 moderately, and about a quarter of a million slightly. His Highness's father judiciously adopted a "Famine Code," and, referring to previous famines with which this State had been visited, he said: "I recognise the need for formulating the method and nature of prompt and decisive action should a greater measure of trouble ever arrive, and I have entered upon the consideration of the proposed code with feelings of satisfaction"; and hence his son followed that code as the basis of operations to meet the recent calamity. For the details of the various public works, such as road-making, sinking of wells, tank excavations, piece and task works, public health and mortality at the relief works, temporary dispensaries, and charitable relief, we must refer our readers to the report itself and to the various illustrations, showing the condition of the famine stricken people on entering and during relief operations, and in the memorial poor-house which has been erected, called the Shri Takhatsinhji Anath Ashram, henceforth to be "a home for all the poor, infirm, and needy people found in the Bhavnagar State." The erection of this building is on a most salubrious position on the banks of the Adhewada River, within reach of an excellent supply of water. The erection cost Rs. 15,000, and on March 4, 1900, was formally opened by Colonel Hunter, the Political Agent for Kathiawar. It consists of ten long barrack rooms, capable of holding 1,500 people, with a dispensary and hospitals for males and females, infectious cases and cholera cases. Three of the barracks have been reserved for females, three for persons with families, one for orphans, two for males only, and one especially for Muhammadans. Separate accommodation is provided for people of low castes, and necessary provision for attendants, also two barracks specially built for lepers. Much help was also given by loans and advances in grain, fodder, etc., and suspension and remission of taxes, all of which is detailed in this valuable report. His Highness having made himself acquainted with the realities of the famine, the success of the administration is due to the unfailing and intelligent support which he gave from the outset. The gratifying result has been that "the cultivating classes have been kept in good condition, and a larger proportion of cattle have," the reporter believes, "been

saved in Bhavnagar than in any State in Kathiawar. As soon as the rains fell the people spontaneously returned to their fields, and there is hardly a tract of land which is not already under cultivation—a rare thing after a famine of any dimensions." We have been induced to make special reference to this report as a document of great value both to the rulers of other native States as well as to the Imperial Government.

*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1899-1900* (printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1900). The Director reports that in public institutions under Government inspection the number of boys has decreased from 488,824 to 483,814, but the number of girls has increased from 70,046 to 77,894. The decrease in primary schools is chiefly in the Central Division, Kathiawar, and the Southern Division. This decrease is attributed partly to the plague and famine. The Government thank the Director for "his full and interesting report," and express surprise that the decrease in attendance at primary schools for boys was not even more marked than is indicated in the detailed statistics.

*A Guide to Bombay: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive*, by JAMES MACKENZIE MACLEAN, M.P., late Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, Fellow of the Bombay University, and late Chairman of the Bombay Council (London: G. Street and Co., 30, Cornhill, E.C.; Bombay: *Bombay Gazette*, Esplanade Road). This well-known guide-book has now reached its twenty-sixth edition, revised up to date, and greatly enlarged. It is accompanied with a map of Bombay and also of India, showing native, tributary, and protected States, independent States, and British territory. The geography and an interesting history of Bombay occupy a large portion of the volume, as well as statistics as to population, revenue, and exports, information of the various public institutions and native festivals, a directory of the inhabitants, trade, and commerce, the Government public offices in all departments, and other valuable details.

*Cartoons from the "Hindi Punch,"* edited by BARJORJEE NOWROSJEE (Bombay: Printed at the Samacher Press, Frere Road). The cartoons represent interesting scenes of the meetings of the Indian National Congresses, exhibiting throughout thorough loyalty and an earnest desire to promote social reforms.

*Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-West Provinces and Oudh, for the Year ending March 31, 1900* (issued at Allahabad, November 29, 1900). We rejoice to see from this report that during the year 1899-1900 the conservation of ancient monuments in this part of India have received much attention. The expenditure of Rs. 92,059 has been incurred mainly on buildings in and about Agra, and during the next year it is proposed to spend Rs. 1,000,000. Among the special repairs noted in the report are those on the main entrance to Akbar's tomb, Sikandra. During their execution, "distinct, though faint, traces of ancient paintings were discovered on the stone facing." Besides the report, there is an interesting short history of work done by the archaeological department, as well as an important and valuable speech by the Viceroy (Lord Curzon) on the ancient monuments in India, at a meeting

of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, on February 6, 1900, in which he said, "I regard the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government," and concludes his eloquent speech by saying: "I hope to assert more definitely during my time, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge."

*Indian Famines: their Causes and Remedies*, by PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY (printed at the Cherry Press, Calcutta, 1901). A valuable compendium of the views of various writers on both the causes and remedies of the present and past famines in India. Its perusal will be useful to those who may not have access to the numerous works and articles which have recently appeared on this very important subject.

*Gleanings of a Rambler* (printed and published by S. S. Rajaguru, B.A., Gajapaty Press, Parlâ Kimedi, Madras, 1900). "The dreamy Rambler," as he himself suggests, this collection of poems or verses on a great variety of subjects had better be left to the reader to speak for itself.

*Tales of Tennâlrâma, the Famous Court Jester of Southern India*, by PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., Member of the London Folklore Society (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras, 1900; Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London). Like all other Courts in ancient times, the Court of Krishnadeva Râya, the Asoka of Southern India, had a jester. A Tamil book called "Tennâlrâman Kathai" contains a collection of stories of this jester (who appears to have been rather a trickster), seventeen of which are here produced. They are not very edifying to an English reader, but they are, as the translator says, an evidence of the popular taste of the time—that is, about five centuries ago.

*The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, compiled and edited by the late SOPHIA DOBSON COLLET, and completed by a friend (London: Harold Collet, 20, Bucklersbury, 1900). An interesting life of a Brahmin reformer, who wrote many works from 1803 to 1832, a man of high linguistic attainments, and of an ardent zeal in rescuing Hinduism from its state in his time. He came to England in April, 1831, with the view of giving information and promoting the interests of his countrymen by advocating a more liberal intercourse with India. He died at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol. The memoir indicates great research in public documents, letters, and in other ways, with the view of exhibiting his views of religious belief and spiritual aspirations.

Of the series of volumes of British enactments in force in Native States, we have received a second edition, revised and continued by A. WILLIAMS, LL.M., I.C.S., connected with *Western India*, comprising the Native States under the political control of the Government of Bombay and the Baroda Agency, with a supplement relating to the Persian Coast and Islands, Maskat, the Somali Coast, and Zanzibar, corrected up to September 1, 1899. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1900.) These enactments are classified under two general heads—one relating to personal laws applicable only to British subjects or servants in



Native States, the other relating to territorial laws for the particular places to which they are respectively limited. These "British-Indian Enactments" are compiled by J. M. Macpherson, Barrister-at-Law and Secretary to the Government of India Legislative Department.

The Agent-General for New South Wales has kindly favoured us with separate portions of MR. COGHLAN's admirable volume on *New South Wales* (a notice of which will be found elsewhere in this Review), neatly printed, and covering the following subjects: (1) Climate; (2) Timber Resources; (3) Mining Industry; (4) The Fauna; (5) Agriculture; and (6) Forty Years' Progress.

*Our Trade Relations: Proposals for a Preferential Tariff with Great Britain*, by CHARLES E. LUDOWICI, late President of the New South Wales Chamber of Manufacturers (The Commercial Publishing Company of Sydney, Pitt Street, Sydney). A valuable contribution to the discussion of the important subject whether there should not be a mutual arrangement between the Mother Country and Australasia, and other British Colonies, by which the natural products of the latter should be admitted into British ports at a lower rate of duty than foreign products of the same class, and, similarly, British manufactures be admitted into colonial ports at an equivalent reduction of duty as compared with foreign. The author argues the point with clearness, not only on the ground of industrial and commercial advantages to both parties, but also of weaving another cord by which the several parts of the Empire may be knitted together.

*Cape Colony and Orange River Colony*, reprinted from *South Africa*, one of the best authorities on South African affairs, 39, Old Broad Street, London. This reprint, as a small handbook, will be found useful and handy for intending emigrants. It has well-defined maps, and a mass of useful information about the people, the class of population, the products of the country, the climate, health resorts, railways, etc., all told with the view of guiding those who intend to emigrate to form comfortable homes, to advance industry, to obtain competence of living, if not wealth, to promote civilization, and to uphold another of the great regions of the British Empire, and which will, it is hoped, soon be peaceful, prosperous, and loyal.

*The Afrikaner Bond and other Causes of the War*, by THEOPHILUS LYNDALL SCHREINER, South African Vigilance Delegate to England. Issued by the Imperial South African Association, 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. (Spottiswoode and Co., New Street Square, London, 1901). The author, born in the Cape Colony, is the son of a German, who acted as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and his mother was the daughter of a Congregational minister (Lyndall) in London. He is a friend of the Dutch in South Africa, its language, and its Church. He details in this pamphlet the inner causes of the war, the secret aims and ambition of the Afrikaner Bond, which led, step by step from 1881, to the outbreak of the war. As a record of a correct statement of facts within the author's personal knowledge, his pamphlet is valuable, and confirms in no slight degree the wisdom, justice, and necessity of England in vindicating her position, policy and action by the arbitrament of the sword.

*The Plague in India: an Impeachment and an Appeal*, by C. GODFREY GÜMPEL, author of "Natural Immunity against Cholera" and of "Common Salt: its Use and Necessity for the Prevention of Disease" (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.; Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker and Co.). The object of the author in this dissertation is to prove that the greatest safeguard against an attack of plague and other similar diseases is a "natural immunity," and that every effort should be directed to discover the nature and the cause of this immunity, and he strongly argues that this may be found in "common salt" as maintaining the vitality and the healthy state of the blood—hence less liable to be attacked.

*The Present Position of our West Indian Colonies*. A paper read before the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, December 10, 1900, by SIR NEVILLE LUBBOCK, K.C.M.G., Chairman of the West India Committee (London: The West India Committee, Billiter Square Buildings, E.C.). A short but concise paper stating the condition of our West Indies, and the absolute necessity of the Government to give encouragement to the development of, specially, those industries connected with cane-sugar and fruits, the soil and climate of which are well adapted for such productions. Quick and direct transit and the abolition of the sugar bounties are pointed out as the main sources of success towards restoring the prosperous condition of these islands, as well as the sugar-refining factories at home, which were highly important, towards the supply of cane-sugar instead of sugar from beetroot.

*A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language—Assyrian-English-German*, by W. MUSS ARNOLT (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard; London: Williams and Norgate; New York: Lemcke and Buchner). This is a continuation (Part 10) of this concise but very useful dictionary, and commences with the word *Miggu* and terminates with *Na-bat-a-a*.

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain* for January, February, March—*The Wide World Magazine* for January, February, March—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for January, February, March—*The Strand Magazine* for January, February, March, 1901—*Fun*: Royalties of the World, Parts I. and II., price 6d.; to be completed in twelve parts;—*The Life of a Century*, 1800—1900, profusely illustrated, Parts 3, 4, and 5; to be completed in twelve parts;—*The Indian Review* for December, 1900, January and February, 1901 (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Argosy* for January, February, March, 1901;—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Contemporary Review* (London, the Columbus Co., Ltd.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London, Archibald Constable and Co.);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, January, February, March (Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Somaires, Revue de la Presse* (Paris);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature*

(New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (London, 38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika*, September, October, 1900 (Black Town, Madras);—*The Madras Review*, August, 1900 (Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), January, 1901 (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Alfred Hölder, Vienna);—*The North American Review*, January, February, March (New York);—*The National Magazine* (Babu K. P. Dey, Calcutta);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel, secrétaire-général (Tunis, Imprimerie rapide, 1901);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto, Biggar Samuel and Co.);—*Sphinx, revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie*, by Karl Piehl (Upsala, C. J. Lundström; London, Williams and Norgate);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 17 series, Nos. 5, 6, and 7 (Lisbon, Imprensa nacional, 1900-1901);—*The Review of Reviews*, January, February, March, 1901;—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Imperial Institute Journal* (Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London);—*The Cornhill*, January, February, March, 1901;—*A Chromogravure of Earl Roberts* (S. Hildesheimer and Co., Ltd., 96, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.);—*Climate* (Travellers' Health Bureau, London; 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.; and Simpkin, Marshall and Co.).

We regret that for want of space we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following works till our next issue: *The Settlement after the War in South Africa*, by M. J. Farrelly, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, Advocate of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1900);—*Irene Petrie, Missionary to Kashmir*, by Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, B.A., with portraits, maps, and illustrations (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row, 1900);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. i. (London, Luzac and Co., 1900);—*Leading Points in South African History, 1486 to March 30, 1900*, arranged chronologically, with date-index, by Edwin A. Pratt (London, John Murray, 1900);—*Books for Bible Students*, edited by Rev. A. E. Gregory;—*Palestine in Geography and in History*, by Arthur William Cooke, M.A. (London, Charles H. Kelly, 26, Paternoster Row, 1901);—*The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyam*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, with a commentary by H. M. Batson, and a biographical introduction by E. D. Ross (London, Methuen and Co., 36, Essex Street, 1900);—*Le Rig-veda, texte et traduction, neuvieme Mandala, Le Culte Védique du Soma*, by Paul Regnaud, professor at the Lyons University (Paris, J. Maisonneuve, libraire-editeur, 6, rue de Mézieres 1900);—*Madagascar, Mauritius, and the other East-African Islands*, by Professor Dr. C. Keller, with 3 coloured maps and 64 illustra-

tions (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1901);—*The Law and Policy of Annexation, with special reference to the Philippines, together with Observations on the Status of Cuba*, by Carman F. Randolph of the New York Bar (Longmans, Green and Co., 91, Fifth Avenue, New York, London and Bombay, 1901);—*The Order of Isis: a Story of Mystery and Adventure in Egypt*, by James Bagnall-Stubbs, author of "Ora pro Nobis" (London, Skeffington and Son, Piccadilly, W., 1900);—*Mount Obi and Beyond, a Record of Travel on the Thibetan Border*, by A. J. Little, F.R.G.S., with a map and illustrations (London, William Heinemann, 1901);—*Abyssinia, through the Lion-Land, To the Court of the Lion of Judah*, by Herbert Vivian, M.A., with eighty illustrations and two maps (London, C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., 1901);—The British Empire Series, vol. iii., *British America*, with two maps (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1900);—*Palestine in Geography and in History*, by A. W. Crooke, M.A. (Wesleyan Methodist Book-room, 2, Castle Street, City Road, London, E.C.).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The news of the death of the Queen-Empress on January 22 last, was received in India by all classes with the deepest sorrow.

On January 24 a salute of 101 guns was fired at noon all over India in honour of the succession of King Edward VII., and on the 26th the proclamation of accession, and His Majesty's declaration was formally read and translated for the benefit of the native audiences, who took deep interest in the proceedings. The ceremonies were most impressive.

On the day of the funeral memorial meetings were held in all the principal towns.

The following is the text of the letter which the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to send to the Princes and people :

"TO THE PRINCES AND PEOPLE OF INDIA.

"Through the lamented death of my beloved and dearly mourned mother I have inherited the throne, which has descended to me through a long and ancient lineage.

"I now desire to send my greeting to the ruling chiefs of the Native States, and to the inhabitants of my Indian dominions, to assure them of my sincere goodwill and affection, and of my heartfelt wishes for their welfare.

"My illustrious and lamented predecessor was the first Sovereign of this country who took upon herself the direct administration of the affairs of India, and assumed the title of Empress in token of her closer association with the government of that vast country.

"In all matters connected with India the Queen-Empress displayed an unvarying deep personal interest, and I am well aware of the feeling of loyalty and affection evinced by the millions of its peoples towards her throne and person. This feeling was conspicuously shown during the last year of her long and glorious reign by the noble and patriotic assistance offered by the ruling princes in the South African War, and by the gallant services rendered by the native army beyond the limits of their own country.

"It was by her wish and with her sanction that I visited India and made myself personally acquainted with the ruling chiefs, the people, and the cities of that ancient and famous empire.

"I shall never forget the deep impressions which I then received, and I shall endeavour to follow the great example of the first Queen-Empress to work for the general well-being of my Indian subjects of all ranks, and to merit, as she did, their unfailing loyalty and affection.

(Signed) "EDWARD R. ET I.

"Windsor Castle, February 4, 1901."

The Viceroy has created a new Province on the North-West Frontier formed out of the four trans-Indus districts of the Panjāb, viz., Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, and the political agencies of Dir, Swāt, Chitrāl, the Khaibar, the Kurram, Tochi and Wana. The area detached from the Panjāb Province is approximately one-fourteenth of its total area, one-fifteenth of its total revenue, and one-eighteenth of its population. Colonel H. A. Deané has been appointed the first Agent in this new Province.

The King-Emperor has granted to Āgā Sultān Muhammad Shāh, the Āgā Khān of Bombay, permission to accept and wear the insignia of the 1st Class of the Prussian Order of the Crown conferred upon him by the German Emperor for services rendered in connection with the settlement of various matters with the Muhammadan population in German East Africa.

Toward the end of last year the Muhammadan Educational Conference was held at Rampur, during which H.H. the Nawab Imād-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Hussein Belgrāmi, delivered an able presidential address. Resolutions were passed affirming the study of law and engineering, the extension of female education, and the promotion of Arabic learning, etc. H.H. the Nawab announced his intention of founding three scholarships in the College. The committee has realized a considerable sum for educational purposes.

At Lahore Conferences on Agriculture and Technical Education, and the sixteenth Indian National Congress have been held.

Lady Curzon has formed a committee of Indian and English ladies to assist in receiving subscriptions to the Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund.

The subject of memorials to the late Queen-Empress is being discussed in all parts of India.

The Budget account for 1899-1900 shows a surplus of £2,774,623; the revised estimate for 1900-1901 a surplus of £1,640,000, and the estimates for 1901-1902 a surplus of £691,000.

The result of the ravages of two famines and the plague during the last decade has had a marked effect on the population, the result being that the normal rate of increase of population has ceased. There is a decrease especially in the North-West Provinces and Oude, as also in the following districts: Jabalpur, Seoni, Narsinghpur, Mandla, Damoh, Sangor, Bālāghāt, Bilāspur, Hoshangabad, and the Chuckhadon and Makrai States. The census totals show the population to be 294,000,000, against 287,717,000 in 1891.

Another epidemic raged in February last in Bombay, when many deaths occurred. The Government remedial measures have been specially directed towards providing succour for the sick. The epidemic continues to gain ground also in Bengal.

On January 1 last the number of persons on the relief lists was 227,000, and at the time of our going to press is less than 200,000.

The market-rate of exchange for the calculation of compensation is now taken as rs. 4d. per rupee, taking effect from the first quarter of 1901-1902. The percentage on salary admissible at this rate is Rs. 6-4-0, and the maximum monthly allowance Rs. 138-14-3.



The Mines Bill, which has been the subject of much discussion for the past two years, was adopted by the Legislative Council in Calcutta on March 22.

The out-turn of the Indian tea crop of 1900 was 187,527,000 lbs.

The annual report on the Indian Post Office for 1899-1900 shows that 509,000,000 of postal articles (exclusive of money-orders) were dealt with, an increase of 32,000,000.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—A sign of the pacification of the N.W. Frontier may be assumed from the recent orders of Government which came into effect on April 1, under which all postal and telegraph charges in connection with the occupation of Chitral, Tochi Valley, the Kohat-Kurram force and Wano garrisons, are to be borne by the Postal and Telegraph Departments instead of by the Military Department.

The Aka Khel section of the Afridis, who were recently put under blockade in order to realize a fine of 10,000 rupees imposed for various offences, have paid the fine, and the blockade has been raised.

In view of the continuation of the blockade of the Mahsud Waziris, arrangements have been made for the comfort of the troops during the summer months. A sum of 164,000 rupees has been provided for the expenses of the blockade.

The last Maizar operations have resulted in the surrendering of five of the most notable outlaws in connection with the Maizar outrage. The rest are expected to come in shortly.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The succession of Maharaja Bhupendur Singh to the Patiala *gadi* has been recognised by Government. The young chief is nine years of age. A council of Regency has been appointed to administer the State during his minority. Sirdar Gurmukh Singh is president, and his colleagues are Khalifah Sayyid Muhammad Hussein and Lala Bhagwan Das.

His Highness of Travancore, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Regency of the Patiala State, and many others, have subscribed large sums to the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund.

H.H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur has contributed 3½ lacs of rupees to the People's Famine Fund, originally instituted by H.H. the Maharaja of Jaipur.

CEYLON.—At the commencement of this year the total number of Boer prisoners located in the island was 5,000, which included 107 officers.

BURMA.—The earnings of the Burma railways during the last six months of 1900 were nearly nine lacs more than in 1899.

PERSIA.—The Government has formed a new cavalry division in the province of Azerbāijān, and attached an artillery brigade to it to repress the rising of Kurdish robbers, who have been molesting caravans crossing the province.

In accordance with the Russo-Persian Treaty, Russia is about to establish six branches of the Imperial Russian Bank in the country.

PERSIAN GULF.—Hostilities broke out early this year between the Sheikh of Koweit and Bin Rashid, who styles himself King of Arabia.

The former had about 10,000 mounted men armed with rifles, and although Bin Rashid's force was superior in numbers, it was badly armed, and had to retreat in disorder, leaving considerable spoil in the hands of the victors.

**BALUCHISTAN.**—The Baluchistan Agency will in future be shown separately in the Indian Army List instead of under the Government of India.

Captain D. C. Johnston, 24th Bombay Infantry, senior medical officer at Loralai, eastward of Quetta, has been murdered by a Ghazi.

A party of over 100 men of the Lango tribe of Baluchis who had gone into Kandahar territory to trade were robbed and expelled. On their return they lost their way in the desert, and with the exception of ten, who succeeded in reaching Pishin, all perished from thirst.

The trade of the new Quetta-Sistan route to Persia amounted in 1898-99 to over  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees, in 1899-1900 to nearly 13 lacs, and last year a further increase took place.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—His Highness the Amir has sent the Viceroy of India an extremely sympathetic letter of condolence on the death of the Queen-Empress.

The Afghan refugees at Dehra, Sirdar Yahyā Khān, his son Asaf Khān, and Yūsef Khān, his son-in-law, with their respective families, have been permitted by the Indian Government to return to their homes. H.H. the Amir, having consented to the same, has provided them with a sum of 30,000 rupees for their travelling expenses to Kābul.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—An agreement has been concluded between China and the Russo-Chinese Bank for the construction of a railway from Lake Baikal to Port Arthur. The bank will receive in return for undertaking the construction of the line the right to work it for thirty years. A line from Kiakhta to Peking is also projected.

**CHINA.**—The Chinese Peace delegates accepted the demands made by the representatives of the Allied Powers, who met in Peking on February 25 for the purpose of drawing up a list of prominent officials who were implicated in the Boxer movement, and whose punishment was demanded. On February 26 Chi-Lsiu and Hsu Cheng-yu were publicly beheaded, and it is reported that Ying-nien and Chao Shu-chiao committed suicide a few days previously.

An Imperial edict was issued ordering Prince Tuan and Duke Lan to be banished to Turkestan, and Prince Chuang to commit suicide.

The Chinese plenipotentiaries have requested the transfer of the capital to the Chinese, in order that preparations might be made for the Emperor's return. Li Hung Chang says that the restoration to the Chinese of the Temples of Heaven and of Agriculture is absolutely necessary before the dignity of the Court will permit of its return to Peking.

A new Convention with regard to Manchuria has been drafted between Russia and China. It consists of twelve articles, and is obviously supplementary to the Tseng-Alexieff agreement. It establishes still more thoroughly the exclusive Russian protectorate over the province, and grants to Russia many special privileges in Northern China. Japan has

intimated that if any special advantages are conceded to Russia she will demand equivalent advantages.

The famine that is now prevalent in the provinces of Shen-si and Shan-si is one of the worst in the history of China. Two-thirds of the people are without sufficient food or means of obtaining it. Oxen, horses, and dogs have been practically all sacrificed to allay hunger, and the people have been reduced to eating human flesh and to selling their women and children.

A dispute has arisen at Tien-tsin between the British and Russians regarding a piece of land on which the former had commenced building a railway siding. The matter was referred to their respective Governments, and both parties were ordered to evacuate the land in question pending an investigation.

Several punitive expeditions have been carried out, notably one under Colonel Tulloch to Kao-li-ying.

JAPAN.—The House of Peers has passed the Taxation Bills, but the hostility towards the Ministry continues unabated.

PHILIPPINES.—General MacArthur has ordered the deportation to Guam of five insurgent generals, including Del Pilar, thirteen subordinate officers, and eight civilians, including Mabini. Others will also be deported. The surrender of General Trias, one of the principal insurgent leaders, with nine officers and 199 men has been reported.

EGYPT (LOWER).—The last channel has been closed in the barrage constructed across the Nile at Assuan, and it is now possible to walk across the river.

The total revenue during last year amounted to £E11,447,000, and the total expenditure to £E9,895,000. The revenue exceeds that of the previous year by £E247,000. The real surplus of the revenue for 1900 was £E1,552,000, of which £E559,000 belongs to the Egyptian Government. The net sum paid into the general reserve fund was £E666,000. A sum of £E265,000 representing the saving effected by the preference stock conversion, has been paid to the economies fund, and £E62,000 is devoted to the sinking fund.

SUDAN.—The Sirdar left Khartum on January 31 for the White Nile on a tour of inspection.

Sir R. Slatin has been in friendly communication with Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Dar Fur.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—Sir Clement Hill has completed his tour of inspection in Uganda. Sir Harry Johnstone has concluded peace with the Wanandi people at a palaver in the Nandi forest.

A chief named Ashali, from the British Upper Nile district, together with all the sub-chiefs, have visited the Administration headquarters at Port Alice and exchanged presents with the authorities. On their return to Mengo (Uganda) the chiefs expressed great satisfaction, and declared the absolute peacefulness of the Nile provinces.

A Muhammadan Mahdi proclaimed himself on March 12 at Mengo. His name was Muludzi. Considerable excitement prevailed among the natives. It is now reported that he is dead.

**SOMALILAND.**—A force, 500 strong, which was despatched to punish the Ogaden Somalis for the murder of Mr. Jenner, the British Sub-Commissioner, after an eight days' march through the enemy's country, was attacked in February last at Sannasa, near Aff Madu. The enemy was driven off, losing 150. Our loss was seventeen killed, including Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, of the Bombay Medical Service, and several wounded, among them being Dr. Mann.

A Somali Mahdi, named Abdullahi Ashur, has proclaimed himself an incarnation of Muhammad, but is treated with contempt by some of the tribes, while others have become adherents. With these the latter expedition will have to deal. The Mahdi, it is said, has practically subjugated four-fifths of the Protectorate.

**SOUTH AFRICA.**—The war has now become a guerilla one, carried on by numerous small commandos, the largest of which are under De Wet, Delarey, Herzog, Botha, de Villiers, Van Reenan, Smuts, Celliers, and Vermes. Occasionally they have succeeded in surprising weak posts, injuring railways, and capturing convoys. All efforts to capture De Wet and Mr. Steyn, who accompanies him, have hitherto been fruitless. He was nearly surrounded in the Colesberg district, where he was forced to abandon 4,000 horses, the last of his guns, and most of his convoy, but escaped by recrossing the Orange River, whilst in flood, into the Philippolis district, where he was joined by Herzog with fresh remounts. The Colonial Dutch farmers, whilst not openly joining the invaders, gave them all possible information and assistance. De Wet has made forced marches of twenty-five miles a day, and is, at the time we go to press, reported to be in the Senekal district, and his commando broken up. In the West (Calvinia, Clanwilliam, and Sutherland) the Boers are well mounted, and the Colonial troops have had several successful brushes with them north of Klipfontein and the Doorn River. The conduct of the invaders in the Calvinia and Oudtshoorn districts have been simply those of looters and pillagers.

In the Orange River Colony there are about eight separate guerilla commandos at large, but the military régime is gradually being superseded by a civil administration organized by the Deputy Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor, Major Goold-Adams. The organization of the civil police is almost complete, and a speedy pacification of the country is looked for. General Ridley has also formed a burgher police.

In the Eastern Transvaal General French has been successful in breaking up the Boer commandos under General Botha into small parties, and in capturing immense quantities of stock, provisions, and horses, besides many prisoners.

A conference took place in March at Middelburg, between Lord Kitchener and General Botha. Liberal terms were offered to the Boers, but were rejected by them.

A combined movement against Fourie has resulted in the capture of many prisoners, besides 40,000 sheep, 5,000 horses, and a great number of cattle.

Sir A. Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of the

Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony, in addition to the High Commissionership of South Africa.

Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, G.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and Sir H. E. McCullum Governor of Natal.

WEST AFRICA.—A native rising having taken place on the northern bank of the Gambia River, an expedition under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Brake, D.S.O., attacked and defeated the insurgents in January last, and captured Dumbutu. Four out of six chiefs captured were implicated in the murder of Travelling Commissioners Sitwell and Silva in June last. The force has returned to Bathurst, the natives having acknowledged British supremacy. The West Indian troops were at Dumbutu awaiting a reply from the French authorities at Dakar about their co-operation in the capture of Fodey Kabba, a powerful chief, then in French territory, who instigated the murder of the above Commissioners.

The Lagos-Ibadan railway was opened on March 4.

ABYSSINIA.—The British expedition which left England in January last for work on the Anglo-Egyptian-Abyssinian frontiers arrived at the Sobat River on February 6 *en route* to Nasser. The expedition is composed of Major Austin, D.S.O., R.E.; Major Bright, Rifle Brigade; Dr. Garner, and an escort of sixty men and animals. Further news of them is not expected for some months.

CANADA.—Trade for the fiscal year is the largest on record. The imports amounted to \$189,622,513, being an increase of \$26,858,000 over the previous year. The exports amounted to \$191,894,723, an increase of \$33,000,000. The imports from Great Britain reached \$44,789,730, being an increase of \$7,700,000. The exports to Great Britain were of the value of \$97,000,000, an increase of nearly \$8,000,000. The trade with the United States showed an increase of \$25,000,000, the imports being \$93,000,000, and the exports \$54,000,000.

The surplus revenue over expenditure last year amounted to \$8,054,715 the largest in the history of the country. The estimated surplus for this year is \$6,350,000.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Colonial Cabinet has been advised that negotiations with reference to the French shore question have been reopened, and has been requested to renew the *modus vivendi* for the current year, so as to permit the continuance of negotiations.

Sir Cavendish Boyle, K.C.M.G., Government Secretary of British Guiana, has been appointed Governor of Newfoundland.

The revenue for the half-year ended December last was over \$1,000,000, the largest in the colony's history, and \$50,000 above the amount for the same period of 1899.

The sealing fleet has been very successful this season. The total catch may probably reach 350,000 seals.

WEST INDIES.—The Legislative Council was opened on February 26. The financial and general condition of the colony is unsatisfactory, in spite of past retrenchment. The estimates for the coming year are revenue £745,836, and expenditure £770,475, showing a deficit of £24,639, and

necessitating further taxation, which is proposed should be raised by increasing the holdings and property taxes.

AUSTRALASIA.—Universal sorrow prevailed in all the colonies on receipt of the demise of the Queen. His Majesty the King has forwarded the following message to all colonies and dependencies :

“TO MY PEOPLE BEYOND THE SEAS.

“Windsor Castle,

“February 4, 1901

“The countless messages of loyal sympathy which I have received from every part of my dominions over the seas testify to the universal grief in which the whole Empire now mourns the loss of my beloved mother.

“In the welfare and prosperity of her subjects throughout Greater Britain the Queen ever evinced a heartfelt interest. She saw with thankfulness the steady progress which, under a wide extension of self-government, they had made during her reign. She warmly appreciated their unfailing loyalty to her throne and person, and was proud to think of those who had so nobly fought and died for the Empire's cause in South Africa.

“I have already declared that it will be my constant endeavour to follow the great example which has been bequeathed to me. In these endeavours I shall have a confident trust in the devotion and sympathy of the people and of their several representative assemblies throughout my vast colonial dominions. With such loyal support I will, with God's blessing, solemnly work for the promotion of the common welfare and security of the great Empire over which I have now been called to reign.

“EDWARD, R.I.”

The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York started from Portsmouth on their tour to the colonies on March 16, on board the steamship *Ophir*, proceeding via Gibraltar and Malta, arriving at Melbourne about May 4, Durban August 12, Simonstown August 16, Newfoundland October 24. A special correspondent of the *Times* is historian for the trip.

QUEENSLAND.—The Ministry is composed of Mr. Murray, Postmaster-General and Secretary Public Instruction; Mr. Leahy, Railways and Public Works; Mr. Cribb, Treasurer; Mr. Philp, Chief Secretary.

WEST AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Throssell has succeeded Sir J. Forrest as Premier.

The value of the exports from the seven colonies of Australasia, after rising from £78,453,000 in 1898 to £88,845,000 in 1899, fell to £85,394,000 last year. The decrease was caused by the fall in the value of the wool exports. The value of imports last year was £79,631,000, showing an increase over 1898 of £11,094,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Commonwealth was inaugurated at Sydney on January 1 by the swearing-in of Lord Hopetoun as Governor-General amid great public rejoicing. The festivities lasted till January 8. The other colonies showed some marks of festivity. The following form the Ministry: Mr. Barton, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs; Mr. Deakin, Attorney-General; Sir W. Lyne, Home Affairs; Sir G. Turner, Treasurer; Mr. Kingston, Trade and Commerce; Mr. Dickson, Defence; and Sir John Forrest, Postmaster-General.



Mr. Barton has announced that the Commonwealth tariff will be protective, a large income from indirect taxation being required.

VICTORIA.—The Inland Penny Postage Act came into force in the colony on April 1.

The following form the Ministry : Mr. Peacock, Treasurer and Minister of Labour ; Mr. Trenwith, Chief Secretary of Railways ; Mr. MacCulloch, Defence and Public Works ; the other Ministers are unchanged.

NEW ZEALAND.—The penny postage was inaugurated in the colony on January 1 last.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following :—Lord Dormer (Crimea, India) ;—Admiral G. W. D. O'Callahan, C.B. (Malacca, China 1854-57) ;—Colonel Lord William Leslie de la Poer Beresford, V.C., K.C.I.E. (Afghan campaign 1878, Zulu war, Burmese expedition) ;—General Turner, Director-General of Military Works (Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881) ;—Lieutenant Arthur N. D. Fagan, Haidarabad Contingent (Tirah Campaign 1897-98) ;—Ghulam Muhammad Khan, uncle of the Amir of Afghanistan (at Damascus) ;—Major Serpa Pinto, a well-known African explorer ;—Mr. Baden Henry Baden-Powell, C.I.E., late Bengal Civil Service, an authority on Indian forestry and Indian land tenures ;—Deputy Surgeon-General C. E. Raddock, I.M.S. (Mutiny, Bhutan campaign 1865, Afghanistan 1879) ;—Captain Bernard H. F. Leumann, M.D., I.M.S. (South Africa 1890) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel William E. D. Deacon, a Military Knight of Windsor (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny) ;—Captain F. L. Fosbery, Royal Irish Regiment (North-West Frontier 1897-98) ;—Major-General H. Gordon Waterfield, C.B., I.S.C. (Honourable East India Company's Service, Mutiny, Oude campaign 1858-59, Hazara expedition, Chitral relief force) ;—Sir E. S. Symes, K.C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma ;—Mr. Thomas Walters (thirty years Consul in China) ;—The Right Rev. Bransby Lewis Key, Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria ;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. R. Butler, Sixth Bombay Cavalry (Afghan war 1880) ;—Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel S. B. Haliday, formerly I.M.S. (Abyssinian and Afghan campaigns) ;—Major-General P. Maclean, R.A. (capture of Port Natal 1842) ;—Deputy Surgeon-General James Keess, M.D., I.M.S. (Madras) ;—Captain D. C. Johnston, I.M.S. ;—Mr. Mahadev Govind Ranade, C.I.E., Judge Bombay High Court ;—Mr. Arthur Butler, British Resident at Pahang ;—Major W. F. Brown, Royal West Kent Regiment (Boer war 1881) ;—Right Rev. A. Gaughran, Roman Catholic Bishop of Orange River Colony ;—Major-General J. Miller, late 3rd Dragoon Guards and 13th Hussars (Sutlej 1846, Indian Mutiny campaign, Abyssinian campaign) ;—Inspecting Veterinary Surgeon Herbert Sewell (Crimea) ;—Major-General S. C. Turner, R.E. (Mahsud-Waziri expedition 1881) ;—Major-General Saxton, formerly 38th Madras N.I. and Indian Survey Department) ;—Major-General C. Menzies (Parlahkimedy expedition) ;—Captain A. W. W. A. Thellusson, King's Own Scottish Borderers (Sudan 1888-89, South Africa 1900) ;—General W. D. P. Patton-Bethune, Colonel Highland Light Infantry (Kafir war 1851-53, Crimea, Indian Mutiny) ;—Major-General

J. M. Muspratt-Williams, formerly 1st Madras Fusiliers (second Burmese war);—Major O. B. Cannon (Crimea);—Rai Bahadur Kanti Chander Mukharji, Prime Minister of Jaipur;—Captain R. D. B. Bruce, R.N. (Egypt 1882);—Major H. W. Denne (Crimea);—Major-General H. E. Jerome v.c. (Indian Mutiny, Hazara campaign 1868);—Dr. Dudgeon, a well-known resident in Peking;—Sir Edward William Stafford, G.C.M.G., formerly Prime Minister of New Zealand;—General John Loudon (Southern Mahratta 1844-45);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Scott (China war 1840-43, Crimea);—William A. Grimley, late I.C.S. (Bengal);—Major-General Gaitskell, C.B. (Delhi 1857);—Surgeon-General S. C. Townsend, C.B., Indian Medical Service retired (Burma 1852-53, Afghan war 1878-80);—Colonel G. Morland-Hutton, C.B. (Crimea);—Major H. C. Hudson, Indian Medical Service 16th Bengal Lancers (Sudan 1885, Burma 1886-88, Manipur expedition 1891, Waziristan and Tochi Field Force 1897);—Mr. George Graham, a member of the first House of Representatives New Zealand (in the R.E. at the taking of Canton);—Major-General J. Stewart Tulloh, C.B., formerly in the old Bengal Artillery (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Panjāb 1848-49, North-West Frontier 1863, and Umbeylah);—Dr. Elias Riggs, of Constantinople, a theological student and linguist;—Admiral Sir G. Ommanney Willes, G.C.B. (Crimea, Baltic, China 1859-66);—Major-General Bostock, 16th Foot (Maori war, etc.);—Major-General E. M. Gilbert Cooper, late Bombay Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel R. L. Matthews, A.S.C. retired (Fenian raiders Canada 1870);—Major J. S. Parsons, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner Burma (Afghan war 1880, Burma 1885-86);—Major-General J. C. Macdonald, Madras Staff Corps, retired (Saugor Field Division);—Lieutenant-General C. R. Shaw, Bengal Staff Corps (Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Captain J. Atkins Pickworth, a Military Knight of Windsor (Crimea and Mutiny);—Captain Sutherland, 17th Bengal Infantry;—Captain N. D. Horsford, 1st Central India Horse;—Mr. H. W. Gee, C.S., Deputy Commissioner Dera Ismail Khan;—Munshi Ijaz Nabi, late District Judge of Gurdaspur;—Mr. Powell, of the *Daily Telegraph* Cape to Cairo expedition, at Wadelai;—Major Thomas Tulloh, retired, late 33rd Native Infantry and 21st Panjāb Infantry (Jhansi 1838, Afghan war 1842, Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Mutiny 1857);—General Montgomery Hunter, late I.S.C. (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Maitland, Bombay Medical Service, killed in Somaliland (Egypt 1882, Suakin 1886, Burma 1886-88, Dongola 1896);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. O. M. Vandeleur, late Gordon Highlanders;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. Churchill, late 1st Ghurka Regiment (Perak 1865, Afghan war 1878-79);—Captain F. Duncan, 23rd Pioneers (Hazara expedition 1888, Miranzai 1891, Hunza Nagyr 1891-92);—Lieutenant H. B. Abadie, 11th Hussars (Chitrāl Relief Force 1895, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98);—Khan Bahadur Jahāngir Pestonji Vakil, a well-known philanthropic citizen of Ahmadabad;—Mr. Ralph Kershaw, a magistrate of the Baroda State;—Vice-Admiral Matthew Connolly (Syrian campaign 1840, New Zealand, Baltic 1854);—Khan Bahadur Mithrajibhai Cooverjibhai Tarapurwalla, C.I.E., late Diwan of Kolhapur.

March 23, 1901.



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